

EUROPOLITICS



Security and defence

What next for Europe after British-French pact?



POWERING THE FUTURE



Carrier



Hamilton Sundstrand



Otis



Pratt & Whitney



Sikorsky



UTC Fire & Security

We are the companies of United Technologies. We employ nearly 66,000 people across 32 European countries. From Ireland to Turkey and from Finland to Portugal, our products and technologies power modern life – at home, at work and everywhere in between. We develop security and defense capabilities to protect you from harm and ensure that our ever-changing world runs better, faster, and more efficiently. We are United Technologies.

**SIX BUSINESSES.
ONE POWERFUL COMPANY.**



United Technologies

Contents of Supplement to N° 4093

Austerity, not Lisbon Treaty, drives European defence developments.....	4	Analysis: Coming in from cold? - EU builds role in intelligence sharing.....	10	Budget crisis may keep EU's air power projects stuck on runway.....	19
Main security and defence points in Lisbon Treaty.....	6	Secure energy supply: Europe's Achilles heel.....	11	Pressure grows for EU to develop response to maritime threats.....	20
Recent defence spending plans announced by EU member states.....	7	Frontex takes border security from discourse to reality.....	17	Executive outlines key elements of internal security strategy.....	21
Interview with Nick Witney, senior policy fellow at European Council on Foreign Relations: British-French defence pact could prove way ahead.....	8	Volunteer corps to promote EU values abroad: Georgieva.....	18	EU's counter-terrorism chief sets out immediate priorities.....	22
Interview with Giles Merritt, director of Security and Defence Agenda: Paris-London tandem essential to ESDP.....	9	MEPs call for civil-military crisis headquarters.....	18		

Coordinated by Paul Ames

EUROPOLITICS
SINCE 1972

is published by EIS
(Europe Information
Service S.A.),
subsidiary of SIAC group
Rue d'Arlon, 53
B-1040 Bruxelles

Chairman and Publisher:
René-Charles Millet
Publisher's Advisor:
Marc Paoloni

TELEPHONE
Direct lines: +32 2 737 77 (--)
Instead of (--), dial the two digits
after the person's name.

E-MAIL

Editorial staff:
editorial@europolitics.info

Subscriptions:
subscriptions@europolitics.info

Direct:
firstname.surname@europolitics.info

Advertising:
advertising@europolitics.info

EDITORIAL TEAM

**Executive Publisher &
Editor-in-Chief:**
Pierre Lemoine (20)

Production Editor:
Eric Van Puyvelde (22)

Editorial staff:
editorial@europolitics.info

Editorial FAX: +32 2 732 66 51

Editors:

Anne Fekete de vari (18)
Tibor Szendrei (33)

Special Editions Editor:
Rory Watson

Reporters:

Dafydd ab Iago (58)
Sarah Collins (42)
Anne Eckstein (36)
Sophie Mosca (54)
Chiade O'Shea (37)
Sophie Petitjean (06)
Célia Sampol (60)
Isabelle Smets (34)
Joanna Sopinska (31)
Nathalie Vandystadt (45)

Correspondents:

USA - Washington: Brian Beary
Asia - Seoul: Sébastien Falletti

Translation:

Christina Berta, Aida Boghossian,
Betty Jackson, Michèle Morsa

Agenda, layout and website:

Philippe De Clercq (57)
Geneviève Jourdain (13)
Grégoire Maus (15)
Christine Serville (14)

ACCOUNTING:

Director: Pascal Duvent
Tel: + 33 1 42 74 28 93
Fax: + 33 1 42 47 29 00
accounting@europolitics.info

MARKETING/SUBSCRIPTIONS

Director: Frédérique Carton
Tel Subscriptions: +32 2 737 77 09
FAX Subscriptions: +32 2 732 67 57
E-mail Subscriptions:
subscriptions@europolitics.info

Head of Marketing:
Richard Mestré (41)

ADVERTISING

advertising@europolitics.info

PRODUCTION

Director: Philippe Gawsewitch
Printing: Identic, Brussels

Austerity, not Lisbon Treaty, drives European defence developments

By Paul Ames

This was supposed to be the year that the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty injected new vigour into the European Union's renamed Common Security and Defence Policy.

But progress in CSDP through 2010 has been discreet as the attention of the EU's foreign and security policy establishment has focused on the delicate institutional changes instigated by Lisbon, most notably the structure and funding of the European External Action Service.

Instead, the main issue gripping defence officials across Europe has been the impact of shrinking military spending in the wake of the financial crisis.

The year has been marked by mounting public concern from both NATO headquarters and the United States about European defence cuts, mitigated slightly by guarded optimism that the budgetary rigour may force nations into greater efficiency and cooperation by sharing costs and pooling equipment.

The biggest European defence event of 2010 was a bilateral, intergovernmental agreement setting out unprecedented cooperation between the EU's biggest military players – Britain and France – but sidelining the Union's own defence structures.

STATE-TO-STATE COOPERATION

"This is about achieving real capability and tangible results – and proving that cooperation in Europe doesn't always have to be on an EU level, but can be on a state-to-state basis," wrote Britain's Defence Secretary Liam Fox ahead of the November Franco-British summit.

The agreement to share nuclear weapons research, pool aircraft carriers, train up joint expeditionary forces, work together on air transport and encourage high-tech cooperation among both countries' defence industries may be a marriage of convenience, but it does represent a significant step for the two nations that account for over 40% of EU defence spending.

It triggered predictable gripes from British Eurosceptics about the dangers of getting cosy with the old enemy of Agin-

court and Trafalgar, and had Marine Le Pen of Front National puffing about a betrayal of De Gaulle's legacy.

Fox, however, made clear that the deal is about pooling resources, not sovereignty.

"Too often, the debate on defence within Europe has been focused on what the EU should or should not do," he wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*. "It

"If you look at the Franco-British agreement, what that tells us is that two major states are losing faith in the CSDP"

has always been my view that defence must be a sovereign, and therefore an intergovernmental, issue."

Pessimists among those who support an integrated EU defence bemoaned the Franco-British agreement as a victory for a sceptical British approach, with France recognising the lack of progress toward the ambitious defence objectives it announced with its 2007 EU Presidency.

"If you look at the Franco-British agreement, what that tells us is that two major states are losing faith in the CSDP," says Anand Menon, European security expert at Chatham House.

"Go back to all the stuff that was said at the beginning of the French Presidency and all that focusing on ESDP; it's all come to nothing. Everybody has gotten a bit hacked off with it and nobody really trusts the process to work."

There are alternative points of view. Some feel that by setting an example of how cross-border cooperation within Europe can work, the latest agreement, like the St Malo accord between Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair in 1998, will end up by having a positive knock-on effect for wider European defence cooperation.

"Despite the spin that they are putting on it for nationalist consumption, this is obviously a major step for Europe," says Ana Gomes, a member of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Security and Defence.

"You can't build a common European policy for security and defence without the British and I think this is of major importance, despite the fact that they deny this," added the Portuguese Socialist MEP. "This has tremendous implications and positive ones for the building up of the joint effort that we need in this field."

An editorial in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* agreed that the London deal could herald a new era of cooperation, concluding "a European defence policy à la carte is definitely better than nothing".

After its decade-long gestation, the final entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty appeared to take much of the European Union's defence unprepared.

The first post-Lisbon meeting of EU defence ministers, rather than pointing the way ahead for the CSDP under the new leadership of High Representative Catherine Ashton, degenerated into bickering about her failure to join the ministers in Mallorca.

When the ministers met again under the Belgian Presidency – this time addressed by Ashton via a video link from New York to Ghent – they did announce steps towards greater defence cooperation.

The driving force was not, however, the institutional improvements written into Lisbon, but rather the impact of shrinking defence budgets forcing nations to share, pool and collaborate in order to maintain military effectiveness.

GHENT MEETING

At the September meeting in Ghent, EU defence ministers tasked the European Defence Agency (EDA) to draw up a list of potential cooperation projects. Officials spoke of an emerging consensus on the need for increased pooling in areas such as military training and education; tactical and strategic transport; logistics, communications and surveillance.

"The economic and budgetary context is forcing our member states to cooperate further," said Belgian Defence Minister Pieter de Crem after chairing the meeting. His French counterpart, Hervé Morin, warned Europe risked becoming a "protectorate" in a world dominated by

China and the United States unless it reversed declining military investment.

On the plus side, officials point to the activation this year of a European Air Transport Command to run 200 planes from France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands as an example of concrete cooperation and said Spain and Luxembourg had agreed to join that initiative.

Another step toward closer practical cooperation was the agreement, in early November, on the purchase of 170 A400M transport planes by seven European governments, taking a definite step toward ending a chronic shortage of strategic airlift and ending years of uncertainty about the military Airbus project.

EUROPEAN HELICOPTER

There is also work underway on the possibility of creating a multinational European helicopter that could be held in reserve for civil emergencies or military operations, joint research to deal with the threat from IEDs or developing pilotless planes.

But officials remain frustrated that despite progress on such collaborative projects around Europe, the EU is not taking a more systematic approach to the ideas of sharing and pooling.

One of the main innovations of the Lisbon Treaty, the so-called Permanent Structured Cooperation that allows countries with sufficient resources and

political will to move ahead on defence projects without waiting for agreement and participation from all 27 member states, has not moved beyond the discussion stage this year.

The suggestion, in February, from German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle that Lisbon be used to as the basis for the formation of a European army gained little traction.

Many in Brussels say the EU needs to move quickly to give new structure to its security and defence policy, setting out a strategy both in terms of operational priorities and capabilities and making full use of the new tools laid out under Lisbon.

Ashton herself suggested that was needed in her video message to the ministers in September.

"We need to use the possibilities offered by the Lisbon Treaty, develop new innovative ways of collaborating and mobilise the political will required," she said. "In practice, this means we should focus on spending on our agreed priorities."

Among the ideas the high representative mentioned were increased use of civil-military research programmes; increased cooperation with NATO and better use of the EDA to develop common projects, although the chances of the agency securing a significant increase in funding to enable it to take a bigger role look slim.

It is currently without a chief executive, and the British government says it will review its membership in 2010.

Through the External Action Service, the EU should be able to give a stronger political framework for CSDP missions and optimise civil-military synergies, Ashton added.

Poland is planning to make a fresh push to improve EU defence cooperation when it takes on the rotating Presidency in the second half of 2011.

There are calls from Brussels defence insiders for Ashton to set out clear objectives for policy in the years ahead, perhaps through a defence white paper that would also seek to ensure that national defence reforms can be dovetailed with efforts in other member states to ensure the optimal use of limited resources, reduce duplication and increase openness within the European defence market.

However, in the current political and economic climate there are lingering concerns that far from using the crisis-triggered defence reforms as a platform to build closer cooperation, member states could fall back on national solutions – in particular when it comes to protecting jobs in their own defence industries.

"Defence industries and arms industries in the member states are so entrenched and so powerful," cautioned Professor Menon from Chatham House.

"I'm very sceptical about the argument that the fiscal austerity will make cooperation more likely. I think it will make it less likely. As unemployment rises, people are going to be less willing to rationalise." ■

Yes, I would like to subscribe to **EUROPOLITICS** daily:

- 6 MONTHS, 112 issues (paper version) + unlimited online access at the price of **€935⁽¹⁾**.
- 1 YEAR, 223 issues (paper version) + unlimited online access at the price of **€1,785⁽¹⁾**.
- 6 MONTHS, 112 issues (PDF + html) at the price of **€795⁽¹⁾**.
- 1 YEAR, 223 issues (PDF + html) at the price of **€1,520⁽¹⁾**.

I would like to receive *Europolitics* in: French English

I would like to receive a free issue of **EUROPOLITICS** daily in: French English

First name: Last name:

Organisation: Activity:

Job title: VAT: No Yes: N°

Address:

Post code: City:

Date and signature:

Country:

Phone: Fax:

E-mail:

Subscription order form to be returned by fax or mail to: EUROPOLITICS
Rue d'Arlon 53 / B-1040 Brussels or by fax to: +32 (0)2 732 67 57

HELP US GET TO KNOW YOU BETTER...

YOUR ACTIVITY

- Embassy
- EU institution
- Association, federation, trade union, NGO
- Research, scientific institute, university
- Chamber of commerce
- Media and communication
- Consultant, lawyer
- Ministry and national government
- Enterprise
- Mission, EU representation
- Finance, bank, insurance
- Other:

YOUR INTERESTS

- Agro-industry and agriculture
- SMEs
- Competition
- General EU policy
- Consumers
- EU-third countries' relations
- Energy Science and research
- Environment
- Security and defence
- Finance, taxation and economy
- Social policy and employment
- Industries and corporate
- Information society
- Justice and home affairs
- Transport Media
- Other:

Please pay upon receipt of your invoice. If the invoice address is different from the delivery address, please indicate it. Note that any cancellation (no e-mail admitted) must be sent at least one month prior to the expiry date. One year subscription will automatically be renewed.

(1) Excluding VAT but including postal charges. Offer reserved to new subscribers. For multi-user licences and special discounts, please contact us. Missing information in the order form will unfortunately not be registered.

In order to keep you informed of our activities, your details will be stored on EIS's files, Rue d'Arlon 53, B-1040 Brussels. Pursuant to the law, you are free to access this information, request corrections and consult the Register of the Committee for the Protection of Privacy. Any subscription implies for the subscriber the full acceptance of general sales conditions available at www.europolitics.info.

Main security and defence points in Lisbon Treaty

- Mutual assistance clause says member states have an obligation to come to each others' aid in the event of attack. But NATO remains the "foundation" of collective defence for its members.

A get-out clause for neutrals says the assistance clause "shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain member states"

- The solidarity clause also spells out commitments for mutual assistance in the event of terrorist attacks, natural or man-made disasters

- Common Security and Defence Policy is integral part of Common Foreign and Security Policy

- Permanent Structured Cooperation allows groups of member states with the means and will to move ahead on particular defence initiatives. Such groups can be set up by qualified majority voting

- The Council can ask a group of willing member states to carry out defence missions

- EU defence tasks can include joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue missions, military advice and assistance, conflict prevention, peace-keeping, peacemaking, post-conflict stabilisation and fight against terrorism

- Member states undertake to improve military capabilities and to make them available to the EU

- EU should have operational capacity with civil and military assets to be used for missions to strengthen international security in accordance with UN principles

- Decisions on defence to be taken by unanimity on proposals by the high representative or member states

- EU defence policy respects the specific character of neutral nations and the commitments of NATO nations under the North Atlantic Treaty

- The European Defence Agency will identify military requirements and promote measures to fill them, while seeking to strengthen Europe's industrial and technological base. ■

EUROPOLITICS

INSIGHT

Dossiers and Special Editions

List of Dossiers and Special Editions and access to articles on:

www.europolitics.info -> frame "Europolitics Dossiers" -> "More Dossiers"

DOSSIERS

- External Action Service, n°4039, 10/09/2010
- Arctic challenges, n°4033, 02/09/2010
- EU/Australia cooperation, n°3982, 21/05/2010
- Future of Kosovo, n°3972, 05/05/2010
- SESAR, air traffic revolution, n°3971, 04/05/2010
- CDS, 3954, 09/04/2010
- EU-US Private data, 3942, 19/03/2010
- EU2020, 3915, 10/02/2010
- SEPA 2010, 3912, 05/02/2010
- EU/Bosnia, 3897, 15/01/2010
- Commissioners' Hearings, 3893, 11/01/2010
- Programme of Stockholm, 3878, 10/12/2009
- The Roma challenge, 3857, 10/11/2009
- Financial supervision financière : what's it all about, 3852, 03/11/2009
- Two top posts, ten contenders, 3846, 26/10/2009
- EU External Action Service, 3843, 21/10/2009
- Egnos, Galileo, GMES : Europe's space ambitions, 3839, 15/10/2009
- Financing strategic energy technology, 3830, 02/10/2009
- EU in Asia, 3820, 19/09/2009

- Europe of research: Broken promises, 3815, 11/09/2009
- EU Court of First Instance at 20, 3810, 04/09/2009
- EU-US financial regulations, 3805, 28/08/2009
- European Parliament 2009-2014: Parliamentary committees, 3801, 27/07/2009

SPECIAL EDITIONS

- Digital dreams and doubts, n°4043, 16/09/2010
- Pension reform: the way forward, n°4013, 06/07/2010
- Ceci n'est pas une présidence (Belgium), n°4009, 30/06/2010
- Integrated Maritime Policy, where things stand, n°3981, 20/05/2010
- Twin Presidency (Spain), 3888-3889, 05/01/2010
- European Investment Bank, 3880, 14/12/2009
- Copenhagen Prime, 3875, 07/12/2009
- CSDP : Next up : civil-military interaction, 3862, 18/11/2009
- Exiting crisis : Regions hold keys (Open Days), 3831, 05/10/2009
- Swedish Presidency: Bends ahead, 3785, 02/07/09
- Super Parliament 2009-2014, 3782, 29/06/09
- European elections 2009, 3749, 08/05/09
- Czech EU Presidency, 3665, 04/01/09
- EU Security and Defense Policy, 3630, 03/11/08
- French EU Presidency: New horizons, 3562, 01/07/08

Recent defence spending plans announced by EU member states

Britain: Prime Minister David Cameron announced in October that the defence budget will fall by 8% in real terms over the next four years. The armed forces will be reduced by 17,000 to 158,000

France: The French government plans to cut defence spending by around 3.5 billion euro for 2011-2013 but aims to keep overall military spending steady at average of around 32 billion euro over the period

Germany: The German Defence Ministry is looking to slash 8.3 billion euro off its budget over the next four years. Among the options: abolishing conscription and cutting military personnel from 250,000 to 163,500

Italy: Preparing a 10% cut in defence spending from 2011

Spain: The defence budget in 2011 will amount to 7.15 billion euro, a 3.5% decline from this year in real terms, the ministry announced in October. It said the bulk of the cuts would be borne by administration rather than the armed forces

Poland: One of the few countries investing more in defence. Minister Bogdan Klich said in September he expected a 7.1% increase in 2011

Greece: The defence budget is at 2.1% of GDP this year, down from 3.1% in 2009

The Netherlands: The Defence Ministry has to cut 200 million euro in 2011 as part of "structural cuts" of 635 million euro by 2018

Bulgaria: In September, the minister announced the size of the army reduced by up to 20% over 2011-2015

Denmark: Copenhagen angered NATO by pulling out of an allied ground surveillance programme and plans to cut the defence budget by DKK1.4 billion (190 million euro)

Finland: The ministry in September announced plans to increase defence spending by 2% annually in 2011-2015 as part of plans to modernise the armed forces

Hungary: In October, the ministry announced plans to increase the armed forces by 1,500 to 27,500

EU defence spending in 2009*

Member state	Spending (billion euro)	Spending as percentage of GDP	Annual change in spending 2008-2009	Troop numbers	Troops deployed
Austria	2.504	0.9	-2.2	27,300	1,057
Belgium	4.408	1.2	-5.8	36,000	1,006
Bulgaria	0.791	1.9	-7	34,975	628
Cyprus	0.646	1.8	2.2	10,050	2
Czech Republic	2.258	1.6	10.1	24,000	873
Denmark	3.123	1.4	-6	19,000	973
Estonia	0.314	1.9	-12.3	4,750	186
Finland	2.580	1.3	4.5	22,600	651
France	32.020	2.1	5.4	352,771	8,832
Germany	34.166	1.4	2.6	254,000	7,559
Greece	7.263	3.1	4	133,000	823
Hungary	1.068	1.1	-11.3	19,000	855
Ireland	1.032	0.6	-0.5	10,460	718
Italy	21.946	1.2	-8.4	197,000	7,667
Latvia	0.487	1.2	-38.2	5,745	175
Lithuania	0.462	1.1	-18.4	8,850	291
Luxembourg	0.179	0.5	23.1	900	35
Malta	0.360	0.7	-5.7	1,954	0
Netherlands	8.733	1.5	1.4	51,000	2,254
Poland	5.277	1.7	6.6	100,000	3,432
Portugal	2.671	1.6	4.1	38,000	646
Romania	1.643	1.4	-12.7	73,350	1,195
Slovakia	0.948	1.5	-1.7	16,531	618
Slovenia	0.612	1.6	-1.1	7,200	559
Spain	12.196	1.2	-16.9	134,000	2,361
Sweden	3.800	1.3	1.5	13,050	678
United Kingdom	42.609	2.7	0.9	197,000	9,508
EU27 TOTAL	201.266	1.5		1,792,486	53,582 (3%)

* Source: Centre for Strategic and International Studies - European Defence Trends, November 2010 report; NATO: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, French Defence Ministry

**INTERVIEW WITH NICK WITNEY,
SENIOR POLICY FELLOW AT EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

British-French defence pact could prove way ahead

By Kevin Beck

Amid the financial belt-tightening in Europe, the agreement this month between Britain and France on a wide-ranging defence pact could prove to be an early example of the way ahead for EU militaries. According to Nick Witney, former European Defence Agency (EDA) chief executive and senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations, the deal is a turning point in cooperation.

“One important obvious consequence of the budget crisis is the Anglo-French agreement, which both surprises and pleases me. It shows that the defence establishment is responding more radically to the problem than I

might have expected. It is a watershed. It is really quite a strategic decision to rely on each other militarily, that they believe they could do better together than they can by themselves.

“I’m pretty sure that the French have been worrying for a year about the arrival of the new British government, I know the French have been mulling over for some time whether they can play two chess boards simultaneously,” in terms of partnership with Britain, as well as their classical EU-oriented defence approach. “I think they believe this is the way to go. I think the recent French government shake-up is one of the reasons they also plan to stay alongside their European partners,” he said, noting that the new Foreign Minister, Michele Alliot-Marie, has long been a backer of the EDA.

“The key to it all is the members of the

Weimar Triangle (the loose affiliation of Germany, Poland and France), and indeed there have been a lot of discussions between them looking ahead to the Polish Presidency in the second part of 2011. The Poles would be scratching their heads right now as to how far the Anglo-French deal is going to cut across what they want to do in their Presidency.

thing to happen in a hurry, but perhaps in a year or two.”

What impact has the budget crisis had so far?

“The initial reaction around Europe was that things were going to get worse before they would get better, and that ministers would lock their doors and switch off their telephones.

“Until now, there has been a degree of autism between the different defence ministries. In the medium to long term, one would hope that this crisis would provide incentive for the pooling of resources.

“That was the mood of the EU defence ministers when they met in Ghent in September.

There was quite a strong push for

more transparency and even sharing on defence plans, which if it does happen would be a sudden outbreak of common sense.”

Is the budget crisis likely to drive cooperation, or perhaps even competition?

“I think both would be the logical responses. Anyone with a defence industry is going to be worried about sustaining that industry and jobs, so to cooperate with others where possible is logical. “The other logical response would be to make your money go further by accepting bids and offers from elsewhere, moving to something like a common market, which we’ve seen in other parts of the economy. This could help rationalise the over-capacity, and ensure that the most efficient would become the dominant players in the future.” ■



Witney: A watershed moment

“What this has done is lay down a challenge to other Europeans. In theory, three different scenarios could arise. One is that the others just give up. The second is that they are galvanised, understanding why it was done, but believing they should be taken into account.

“The third is that nothing much happens in Europe, the Anglo-French project beds in, and then in a year or two they are ready to open the door to some Europeans in some directions. In that case you would have defence cooperation centering around London and Paris, and leaving out Brussels. It is a thing that could develop over time. The British would be very reluctant initially to bring others in, in the belief that having too many countries involved would mean too much talk and not enough action. I wouldn’t expect any-

INTERVIEW WITH GILES MERRITT, DIRECTOR OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE AGENDA

Paris-London tandem essential to ESDP

By Paul Ames

How has the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty affected Europe's security and defence landscape?

I think it's changed the narrative. I don't think it's changed reality yet, but I guess political narrative is the currency which policy-makers in Brussels and elsewhere deal in. I think it's very important that everybody is aware that the EU's security responsibilities are going to be much greater. How this is actually put into practice nobody knows yet, but the new narrative is I think very encouraging.

What's your take on the Franco-British defence deal - good for Europe or a step in the wrong direction?

It has to be positive. They are the only real players, the only two countries with real capabilities and real military outreach. It seems to me much better to have them working together, even if it is ostensibly an attempt to save a bit of money by cutting out duplication. It's much better to have their military planners thinking along the same lines and working together. The downside is obvious: the smaller European countries and those with no genuine defence commitment - here one has to include Germany and Spain - are going to feel sidelined and it is possible that there will be a reaction to that. My view is that these are free-riders and if you upset the free-riders, what will they do? They either carry on free-riding, in which case nothing happens. or they have a prise de conscience, to look at themselves and say: 'if we want to exert influence on how ESDP is shaped and used, then we have to be able to commit combat capable units and to do that; we have to reform, streamline and re-equip.' So in my view, to have the French and the British in step is absolutely essential to creating a real ESDP instrument.

But what are the institutional implications? Is this a victory for the British vision of inter-governmental cooperation, as opposed to working through the EU?

The question of which way the

real hand in it. I would much rather have European foreign policy, such as it is, being guided by the two foreign policy-minded governments, with the rest coming in behind them, than the sort of woolly foreign policy reactions



Merritt: "Who would we want to have putting together European foreign policy?"

Tory hardliners jump is crucial. I've been challenging the British MoD people for ages. My question to them is: how is it that the UK commits so much money, so much in the way of resources, so much national pride in its armed forces and yet gets little or nothing out of it in political terms. It doesn't make sense; the British have no real hand in shaping the way the European security structures have been set up. Part of me thinks that in many ways the French and the British, and this is going to be a terrible heresy, are the only two countries of the 27 EU member states that actually have a foreign policy. This is partly due to the legacy of their imperial and colonial pasts, partly to the size of their armed forces and partly to the mindsets of Paris and London. So who would we want to have putting together European foreign policy? I think we'd want Paris and London to have a very

you can get from the European Parliament, which tend to be about human rights. That's all vitally important, but not the key element for stability in the world's trouble-spots.

How concerned are you that the shrinking defence budgets will undermine the EU's ambitions?

My instinct is that for the defence community the recession may be a blessing in disguise. It offers the perfect alibi for getting rid of a lot of Cold War hardware which has been used to justify unwieldy defence structures where you have far too many generals and admirals. The British now have more admirals than they have ships and the French situation is more or less the same. If the recession is the catalyst for finance ministries to finally bring their axes down on outdated parts of defence structures, it seems to me to be a thoroughly good thing. ■

ANALYSIS**Coming in from cold? - EU builds role in intelligence sharing**

By Kevin Beck

The key to understanding security threats and working out how to respond to them lies in intelligence gathering, yet it is a vast and often secretive enterprise in which European Union institutions are barely beginning to play a role. Contrary to spy thriller myth, the murky world of espionage only makes up a fraction of all the potentially important information, with around 90% of data readily available in the public domain, experts say.

This is where the EU comes in. Traditionally a very secretive occupation, intelligence gathering and sharing within member states often remains a no-go area. At the military level, the EU role was limited to providing information for early warning and situation assessment. While that has evolved to include advance planning and crisis response, the fact remains that nations, which fear that even neighbours might inadvertently allow information to leak out, are reluctant to share classified data with

officials in Brussels. So the European Commission and national research centres, such as France's CES, companies like EADS and Thales as well as universities, are working on ways to best use publicly available information - so-called 'open sources intelligence' (OSINT) - and to bring end-users together, arming them with better tools and the know-how to sift through it.

Due to its unclassified nature, public information can be shared without threatening national security, and important information can be passed around among partners without the top-heavy need to classify it.

"How to connect different organisations and people is the first problem to solve," says Axel Dyevre, head of the European Strategic Intelligence Company (CEIS) in Brussels. "People are divided in stovepipes, behind closed doors - collectors, analysts, human intelligence experts. Everyone is disconnected. No one is talking to each other for security reasons. That changes with open

sources, because you can call people, do things that are technically impossible when it comes to classified information."

But information alone, whether caught on radar, picked up by satellite or read in a newspaper, is not enough. Real knowledge, which arms a nation to take decisions and perhaps even pre-emptive action, requires analysis, and that is one thing the EU is short on. It is more the work of Sherlock Holmes than James Bond, and Europe is short on sleuths.

"In the business of information management, data represent only around 40% of the end product, whereas analysis can represent 60% or more," notes Tomaz Lovrencic, director of the EU's Satellite Centre.

In today's connected world, virtually anyone with a computer can become a reasonable information collector. But analysis is not rational in a way that machines might conduct it, and success requires human creativity, culture and the ability to draw conclusions and opinions. One way to combat the shortage of experts is to pool the resources of the 27 EU member states. Easier said than done. Nations are using different equipment to gather sometimes different information, and often their tools are not compatible.

A new EU-funded flagship project - dubbed VIRTUOSO (Versatile InfoRmation Toolkit for end-Users oriented Open-Sources exploitation) - aims to help users plug into each other to share information and best practices so they can better identify security dangers and respond to them, as well as foster a nascent European intelligence community.

When fully operational, VIRTUOSO will allow EU agencies, ministries and organisations access to information that has been sifted and structured by analysts using, for example, text mining tools and decision support technologies. "The aim of the project is to develop what is called a framework of integration," says Dyevre. "It allows you to plug in different tools and for them to be interactable. It is an invisible thing, non-sexy, but very useful. The idea is not to have a completely new system. The idea is for final users to be able to use existing tools together and to build their own LEGO set." Using existing tools also helps to limit costs, particularly as the economic crisis bites deep into defence spending. But experts warn that in times of financial hardship, projects, like the EU's VIRTUOSO, can allow nations to make best use of their resources. ■

CEIS Director Axel Dyevre on VIRTUOSO

With a budget of 11.45 million euro - eight million of it EU money, the rest from private partners - from 2010-2013, the VIRTUOSO platform aims to provide EU security stakeholders with an open-source software framework, which is able to integrate advanced information processing tools. It is run by a consortium of companies and research groups like CEA, EADS, Thales, CEIS and Hawk, with universities, such as those in Modena and Aalborg, as well as firms like Sail Labs, which develops voice recognition technologies. In concert with the Eurosint Forum, a non-profit intelligence group, concerned authorities and agencies are invited to workshops to discover new technologies and exchange best practice. "VIRTUOSO is a project aimed at developing a framework of integration. It's an EU information management project," says Axel Dyevre, CEIS director in Brussels. "It's a bit like an additional layer to an operating system. And this layer is able to accept all kinds of tools that an organisation might have," whether it be complex data collection or analysis equipment or simply commercial software. "It's a possibility to view, discover

and test existing solutions. Most of the participants are able to discover and exchange on the possibilities and constraints of capabilities like voice recognition, image recognition, and things like that. It is sometimes an occasion for people to think about things that they had no idea existed." "It allows them to exchange best practice between themselves. This is not an open world. People are sometimes working in isolation and don't know people beyond the door of their offices. It allows them to realise that most people are confronted with the same issues." "The end-users are people from EU agencies, ministries of defence and home affairs, others related to foreign affairs. We have organised the project to be end-user driven. So we are connecting the partners of the consortium to the end-user community through regular workshops. Since May, we have already had five, and two in December. It's a one-day workshop, where people are brainstorming specific topics and interacting. It requires confidence, so it is really a community." In the end, Dyevre says, participants "will be able, if they are interested, to deploy the developed framework with their own system, depending on how the project develops."

Secure energy supply: Europe's Achilles heel

By Hughes Belin

The security of its energy supply has always been one of the European Union's concerns. The EU executive acknowledges bitterly in its European energy strategy, published on 10 November: "As the world's largest energy importer, the EU is likely to be more vulnerable to supply risks as a result".

Action is therefore needed on every front to minimise this vulnerability: managing internal consumption, developing local resources, facilitating the free movement of energy within and into the EU and developing an 'energy diplomacy' to carry weight in energy geopolitics regionally and globally.

MANAGING CONSUMPTION

Energy efficiency is one of the EU's key targets for 2020. Although member states recognise that this means has an impact, they have a hard time believing in it. Their action plans are weak in this respect, proving that mentalities are slow to change.

A great deal remains to be accomplished to achieve the 20% energy savings objective by 2020 compared with projected consumption scenarios, ie to save the equivalent of the production of 440 500MW-power plants. The potential exists, but the impact of energy savings policies in Europe has to be tripled, according to a September 2010 report by the European Climate Foundation.

Cultural and technological changes can make the difference in the areas of household appliances, building, transport, industry and energy production and transport. The role of local and regional authorities is at last recognised. Stakeholders are eagerly awaiting revision of the 2006 action plan for energy efficiency, set for February 2011.

DEVELOPING LOCAL RESOURCES

The EU depends on energy imports for 55% of its needs, a figure that increases

daily as its own oil and gas resources dwindle. The production capacity for renewable energy has risen in the last decade or so, much faster than the capacity of traditional plants. Their development will depend on technological advances and their competitiveness.



Union needs to manage internal consumption

The Strategic Energy Technology (SET) plan, approved in March 2008, sets out a number of industrial initiatives in low-carbon technologies, some of which concern production and energy sources, such as second generation biofuels, wind, solar and fourth-generation nuclear. Its financing needs are estimated at €50 billion for the next ten years.

Although entirely dependent on external supplies for uranium, the nuclear sector is considered by authorities as a local resource. Nuclear energy accounts for just over 6% of the EU's total energy consumption. Since its development in Europe depends mainly on political decisions, analysts are counting conservatively on a stagnation of its share in the total European energy supply, owing to a general trend to prolong the life cycle of existing nuclear plants.

FACILITATING ENERGY FLOWS

Facilitating the free movement of energy within and into the EU will enhance energy security. The Commis-

sion therefore intends to continue its effort to further integrate electricity and gas markets in the EU.

It also intends to develop energy infrastructure under a comprehensive plan, presented on 17 November. By 2020, €200 billion should be invested in electricity and gas transport and storage infrastructure and €400 billion in distribution (including smart grids and meters).

The plan includes integration of offshore wind generation in the North Sea with hydroelectric plants in the Alps, total integration of the European electricity grid system, new routes for gas imports, greater liquidity of the gas market, integration of the Baltic states, East-West interconnections, a CO₂ transport network linking carbon capture installations to storage sites, deployment of smart grid technology and strengthening of the Eastern European pipeline network.

The Commission will propose a specific new financial instrument in the framework of the budget negotiations for 2014-2020, by spring 2011.

ENERGY DIPLOMACY

"Despite serious gas supply crises that have acted as a wake-up call, exposing Europe's vulnerability, there is still no common approach towards partner, supplier or transit countries," notes the Commission. It will publish a communication on external energy policy in June 2011 to try to align the positions of European capitals, which give little thought to the collective interest.

Concerns are not limited to supplies of gas, uranium or oil alone, however. The battle for ore and rare earth resources, vital to high-tech industries, including energy, has already begun on a global scale. A Commission expert group drew up, in June 2010, a list of 14 critical products whose production is concentrated in a very small number of countries. There is no lack of challenges ahead. ■

GLOBAL SECURITY



To stay on top of the security challenges that face the world – and Europe's role in it – stay tuned to the SDA's groundbreaking debates



"We can no longer hide behind a Maginot line"

William J. Lynn, III, US Deputy Secretary of Defence at the SDA's debate on cybersecurity in **September 2010**



"We must be careful to not allow the capability gap to become a credibility gap"

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, NATO Secretary General at the SDA's "NATO's European Dimension" conference in **June 2010**



"The real security danger of the next decade is regional instability on Afghanistan's borders"

Javier Solana, Co-President of the Security & Defence Agenda and former EU High Representative at the SDA Advisory Board breakfast in **September 2010**.



"There is a growing disconnect between political elites and the people"

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Co-President of the Security & Defence Agenda and former NATO Secretary General at the SDA Advisory Board lunch in **June 2010**



The Security & Defence Agenda is Brussels' only specialist defence and security think-tank. Its activities span debates, roundtables and reports.

The SDA embraces new communication channels such as the Security Jam, bringing more than 4,000 defence and security experts together in a five-day discussion on the threats facing the world today.

Visit our website www.securitydefenceagenda.org to download our reports and see our upcoming activities.

SecDef 2010
**"Going global:
Europe's security, policy
challenge"**
30 November
Palais d'Egmont, Brussels

From Information to Intelligence

*Negotiating a contract,
forming a partnership,
developing international business,
launching a new product,
taking over a competitor...
these activities all involve risks.
But they also present tremendous
opportunities if the specific risks
of each situation are properly
assessed beforehand.*

*Information is a vital part
of this assessment.
Whether an organization needs
to be forewarned of upcoming
technology disruptions,
defend its assets from hostile
intentions or promote
its competitive edge
on world markets,
its success always depends
on its ability to gather, secure
and process strategic information
and put it to the best use.*

*This is the service that **CEIS,**
**the European Company
for Strategic Intelligence,**
has been offering its clients
in both the public
and private sectors since 1997.
With a clear agenda:
to find imaginative, concrete,
operational solutions
to guarantee success.*

*Olivier Darrason
Chairman*

- Defence and security
- Information technology
- Telecommunications
- Energy and the environment
- Healthcare & pharmaceuticals
- Transport
- Banking & Insurance
- Agrifood sector
- Materials



CEIS • Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique
280, boulevard Saint-Germain • 75007 Paris • France
Tel.: (+33) 1 45 55 00 20 • Fax: (+33) 1 45 55 00 60
Email: ceis@ceis-strat.com • Web site: www.ceis-strat.com





VERSATILE INFORMATION TOOLKIT FOR END-USER ORIENTED OPEN-SOURCE EXPLOITATION

Designing the Next-Generation Decision-Support Toolkit

VIRTUOSO, an end-user centric project

VIRTUOSO is an EU FP7 co-funded project, that will provide a technical framework for the integration of tools for collection, processing, analysis and communication of open source information.

This middleware framework will enable "plug and play" functionalities that improve the ability of border control, security and law enforcement professionals to use data from across the source / format spectrum in support of the decision making process.

As a proof of concept and to highlight the efficiency of this open-source code framework, a prototype will be built and demonstrated using operational scenarios.

The project will comply with legal considerations and enforce the principles of privacy and data protection to ensure the interests of citizens within the European Union



Designing the Next-Generation Decision-Support Toolkit

The project aims at providing European security stakeholders with a toolkit based on an open-source-software framework, which is able to integrate advanced information processing tools. The aim of this "open-source-software framework" is to ensure greater interoperability among information and technology providers and to allow end-users to easily plug-in different technological solutions.

Key advantage for end-users

- ✓ **To drive the development** of a platform that meets their needs.
- ✓ **To exchange best practises, needs and requirements** with other European end-users and with the partners of the consortium.
- ✓ **To improve the know-how** of their organisation at technical and operational levels.
- ✓ **To have the possibility to implement** the open-source-software framework developed during of after the project in their own information system.
- ✓ **To test during the project the solutions developed** by the partners of the Consortium.

The End-User Community is open to all European security stakeholders

CONSORTIUM:



NEWSTIN



THALES



THALES
Research & Technology

FURTHER INFORMATION:

VIRTUOSO Project Website: www.virtuoso.eu
Grant Agreement n°: FP7-SEC-GA-2009-242352
Starting date: 01/05/10
Duration: 36 months
Total cost: 11.518.542,25 €
EU Contribution: 7.999.076,70 €

COORDINATOR:

CEA List
18 route du Panorama
F-92265 Fontenay-aux-Roses
Cedex
www-list.cea.fr/

CONTACT:

Géraud Canet
Tel: +33 1 46 54 82 59
E-mail: geraud.canet@cea.fr

Great minds don't think alike



Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Carl Bildt, Peter Sutherland, Javier Solana, José Maria Aznar, Connie Hedegaard, James Wolfensohn, Anna Diamatopoulou, Nicolas Sarkozy, Guy Verhofstadt... Find out what the key decision-makers are saying in *Europe's World* - and join the online debate yourself at europesworld.org

Europe's World
A world of ideas

Frontex takes border security from discourse to reality

By Nathalie Vandystadt and Manon Malhère

Discourse on the security of the European Union's borders is translated into reality with the implementation of common instruments to combat illegal immigration, the most important of which is the Frontex agency. The EU nevertheless still has to rely on member states' goodwill in terms of both human and financial resources.

Since its creation in Warsaw in 2004, Frontex has continued to evolve. The agency is tasked with coordinating the surveillance of external borders, but is now also required to organise and co-finance common return flights of illegal immigrants, including the leasing of aircraft for such operations. This new responsibility came after pressure from France and Italy, which convinced the other EU states to include it among 29 measures adopted at the Justice and Home Affairs Council, on 25 February 2010.

The fact remains, though, that EU governments are indecisive. The problem is that the "member states express support for different operations but afterwards do not put up the equipment," Internal Security Commissioner Cecilia Malmström said last February. She, therefore, presented proposals to amend the Frontex regulation and force the participating states to decide 12 months in advance the equipment they would provide.

A draft regulation amending Regulation (EC) 2007/2004 establishing the agency is also being discussed. It is interesting to note that at the latest JHA Council, on 8-9 November in Brussels, the 27 ministers allegedly agreed on the possibility for Frontex to access personal data, according to a diplomat who prefers to remain anonymous. For the Commission, this new competence would make a major contribution to EU internal security and crime prevention and control, in particular trafficking in persons, at external borders.

Another objective is to give countries an incentive to make equipment (boats and airplanes) available to Frontex and to enable it to gradually buy or lease its own surveillance equipment. The agency's budget would not be increased, however, says Malmström, who explains that there has already been a "considerable increase"

in its financing in recent years, from €6.2 million in 2005 to around €88 million for 2010. However, the states will continue to decide whether or not to participate in operations, and the role of Frontex will simply be to "coordinate". What would happen if

Frontex will play an important role in the future European border surveillance system, EUROSUR. A legislative proposal will be presented in 2011

countries defaulted by failing to provide the equipment? The Commission could impose financial penalties by not reimbursing part of the expenditure incurred by the recalcitrant state.

Another need is better training for Frontex agents in human rights. This will take the form of mandatory courses for all border guards participating in the agency's operations "in order to ensure that the fundamental rights of all immigrants are respected, and in particular the principle of non-return". Courses began in 2009. Here, too, financial penalties could be used in the event of infringements of fundamental rights by participating member states.

For Frontex-coordinated joint returns of illegal immigrants to their country of origin, the Commission recommends respect for a 'code of conduct' and the assistance of at least one representative of the Red Cross or an NGO.

RABIT

One of the tasks assigned to Frontex is to coordinate implementation of rapid border intervention teams (RABIT). This mechanism was activated for the first time on 3 November 2010 at the request of the Greek government, which was unable to restrict the massive influx of illegal immigrants along its border with Turkey.

With RABIT, created by Regulation 863/2007, Frontex is authorised to assemble and deploy for short periods teams made up of national officers, such as border guards.

The aim is to provide rapid assistance to a member state unable to cope with intense migratory pressure.

Once again, the agency has to rely on the goodwill of member states, but this first experience was a successful test of European solidarity: 125 officers from 24 member states and third countries belonging to Schengen (Iceland, Norway and Switzerland) were deployed for the operation.

NEWCOMER: EUROSUR

Frontex will play an important role in the future European border surveillance system, EUROSUR. A legislative proposal will be presented in 2011.

This system will mark a new stage in the gradual implementation of integrated management of external borders. The main aim is development of a common technical framework capable of strengthening the capacities of member state authorities to restrict flows of illegal immigrants. The system's main components will be analysis of situations at external borders and development of the response capacity of authorities in charge of border surveillance.

The EU will also develop an electronic system for registering entries and exits on its territory. This measure is expected to be fully operational by 2014 or 2015 (see box). ■

Entry-exit registration system by 2015

The future electronic entry and exit registration system for third-country nationals was presented for the first time in February 2008, in a Commission communication, and written into the Stockholm Programme.

From 2015, it will be used to register the place and date of entry or exit of non-EU nationals admitted for a short stay (three months at most). To counterbalance this security measure, the Union will in parallel set up a rapid registration system for non-EU nationals who must travel frequently to the Union. Such travellers will first have to take an exam to qualify for this type of visa exemption.

Volunteer corps to promote EU values abroad: Georgieva

By Chiade O'Shea

The EU will benefit from an improved image abroad and a better skilled workforce after the founding of a European volunteer corps, similar to the United States' Peace Corps, Humanitarian Aid Commissioner Kristalina Georgieva has said. The blueprint for the European Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Corps (EVHAC), approved by the European Commission on 23 November, lays the groundwork for piloting and developing an army of volunteers ready to be deployed to development projects and emergency disasters around the globe, as foreseen in the Lisbon Treaty.

"The corps would be a human face and would be a demonstration outside our borders of a positive image of the EU abroad," Georgieva said. This responds to concerns expressed across the institutions, particularly after the Haiti disaster, that the EU has too little visibility for the amount of humanitarian work it does internationally. Georgieva has said that she will try to raise the EU's profile as the world's largest single donor for development and humanitarian action in order to give the Union its due on the world stage and to show Europeans that their taxes are being well spent.

She added that the volunteers and their future employers would benefit directly from the scheme. "I have personally given a lot of attention [in the

plans] to training because it adds new skills and allows people to be better prepared for the labour market in the future," she said.



EU the world's largest single donor for development and humanitarian action

The scheme will begin with small pilot projects in 2011, to establish the corps with the minimum risk of unnecessary expenditure, before scaling up to its full size the following year. Speaking on the sidelines of the European Parliament's Strasbourg plenary session, Georgieva said she was very aware

of concerns over spending given the current economic climate. "When budgets are tight, we want to make sure that we test our ideas for the creation of a voluntary humanitarian corps by starting small," she said. The Development Committee's rapporteur on humanitarian affairs, Michele Striffler (EPP, France), said that the economic context meant the corps was "not a priority, but as it is in the Lisbon Treaty, we must carry it out". Striffler added that "it must not detract at all from the budget for other humanitarian responses".

RESPONDING TO THREAT

The commissioner said she was heartened to learn that although economic constraints remained a high priority for all EU citizens, they remained committed to such humanitarian work. "We are responding to a trend that is very encouraging of more Europeans wanting to volunteer, a trend we have seen increase continuously through the economic crisis," she said, citing that 23% of Europeans over 15 years of age currently volunteer. She added that, according to Eurobarometer data, eight out of ten EU citizens still say that it is important that the EU funds humanitarian aid outside its borders.

After the pilot projects are assessed throughout 2011, Georgieva will present a legislative proposal for the scaled-up corps to the Council and Parliament in the first six months of 2012. ■

MEPs call for civil-military crisis headquarters

The European Parliament voted in favour of an EU crisis response headquarters, on 23 November, as part of a wider debate into ways to improve the Union's crisis responses. MEPs called for civil and military missions to have a joint headquarters to manage and coordinate their actions. The plenary approved a report by German Conservative MEP

Christian Ehler on the development of civil-military capabilities. "The EU has to respond better and faster to international crises, whether they are natural disasters or political-military crises in third countries," Ehler said after the vote in Strasbourg. "This requires all available civilian and military resources to be brought together at an EU head-

quarters to avoid friction or competition," he added. MEPs also asserted that the European External Action Service (EAS) should play a key role in coordinating civilian and military structures and that a permanent operational headquarters could take over the operational planning and management for both civilian and military operations. ■

Budget crisis may keep EU's air power projects stuck on runway

By Kevin Beck

Despatching troops to conflict zones, dropping them on the battlefield at high speed and gathering information from the air are pivotal to victory in combat, yet the air power Europe requires to seize that initiative remains in critically short supply.

Identified as a glaring need more than a decade ago, the number of transport planes, helicopters and unmanned drones available, or able to be used in-theatre, has not grown quickly enough to even come close to meeting current requirements.

With nations tightening their budgetary belts across the 27-member EU, defence spending is a plump target in the sites of governments, and costly projects like those linked to aerial systems are under the gun, raising concern in the industry.

"The budgetary crisis should be seen as an opportunity. An opportunity for more cooperation among member states, instead of withdrawing to our national environments and thus disabling European capabilities," Carlo Magrassi, deputy chief executive for strategy at the European Defence Agency (EDA), argued in a speech in Greece, on October 29.

Headline Goal 2010, the EU's soon to expire statement of military ambitions, sets the rapid response time to deploy troops and equipment in during a crisis at five to 30 days, but despite some modest recent advances, air assets still need to be found outside the bloc.

Almost 20 years since the project was unveiled, the A400M transport plane sits on the production line. Seven nations agreed this month to buy some 170 aircraft, despite the delays and past disputes between the manufacturers and customers. But the turboprop

transporter is still in testing, with first deliveries unlikely before 2012.

"There have been so many difficulties with the A400M. It's caused plenty of heartburn, with the restructuring of the programme. Governments had to put their hands deeper into their pockets than expected, so there will be strong willingness to stick with the pro-



The A400M "has caused plenty of heartburn"

gramme now," says Nick Witney, senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations, and former chief executive of the EDA.

When the planes do come into service, they will fall under European Air Transport Command, which, also on the positive side, was set up in September with more than 200 aircraft from France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. Spain and Luxembourg may also join.

Indeed, with defence cuts on the cards, developing projects in groups and pooling resources seems the logical way ahead.

France and Germany have come up with an initiative on a future transport helicopter, even though the aircraft will not take off anytime before 2020. A tactics training programme is underway to make helicopter pilots more versatile. Over 60 air crew who passed through it have since flown in Afghanistan.

The EU has more than 1,700 helicop-

ters - of 22 types - yet a lack of versatile pilots, old and ill-suited craft, caveats on deployment and flying cost concerns, have meant that no more than 7% are sent into action.

Witney is hopeful that is about to change.

"The penny has finally dropped about helicopters. There is a decade's worth of evidence that this was always the missing element. Ministers now seem to understand that. It doesn't necessarily mean more orders, but it does mean looking in inventories, looking at training, on making ready helicopters for flying hot, high and in dusty conditions," he said.

Perhaps an indicator of that trend might be the groundwork underway on creating a multinational European helicopter for use in military operations or in case of emergencies and natural disasters.

The EDA is also encouraging nations to club together to take part in a joint investment programme on unmanned drones, whose use in surveillance, intelligence gathering and even air strikes is growing.

The problem is not so much development of the aerial vehicles themselves, but rather, as they grow in size in line with their expanding tasks, to meet the technological challenges that make it unsafe for drones to enter civilian airspace.

"The use of [drones] is increasing year after year - both for security in Europe as well as for deployed operations elsewhere. Flying these unmanned aircraft in normal air space is becoming a prerequisite for such missions," Magrassi said.

Close cooperation on the development of remotely piloted surveillance aircraft was a key part of the defence pact reached between Britain and France early this month, and that agreement - the first major collaboration on drones - could be a new sign of the way forward in these times of economic turmoil. ■

Pressure grows for EU to develop response to maritime threats

By Paul Ames

The five retired admirals who reported to the European Union in April on the need to improve EU maritime surveillance were clear in their assessment both of the sea's importance to Europe's security and the extent of the potential threats.

"As trade has increased so has the threat," said the admirals' "wise pens" report. "Increasing maritime insecurity, not least terrorism, piracy and illegal immigration, has highlighted the need to improve European security by integrating maritime policy making, sharing information more effectively and transparently and coordinating a collective response to security challenges."

SEABORNE TRADE

Seaborne trade around the world has doubled every decade since 1945. Almost 90% of the EU's external freight trade and 40% of internal trade travels by sea.

The coastline accounts for two-thirds of the Union's external borders. Maritime regions account for 40% of EU gross domestic product. European merchant fleets make up 40% of world's shipping, according to a 2006 European Commission green paper, which added that over half a million Europeans work in fishing, while maritime tourism brings in over €70 billion a year.

Despite the sea's crucial role in Europe's economic life, the admirals' report to the European Defence Agency said the maritime world was lagging in its response to security threats and expressed concern that a lack of communication and coordination among a patchwork of national forces and agencies around Europe is leaving coastlines and maritime trade unnecessarily vulnerable.

Those concerns have been heightened by cuts in defence budgets in the wake of the economic crisis, increasing the need to maximise resources and avoid duplication through greater cooperation.

"There has been a lot of disinvestment over the years by many countries," explains Ana Gomes, a member of the European Parliament's Security and Defence Subcommittee, who is due to talk on the issue at the annual Security and Defence Day

conference in Brussels, on 30 November.

"The kind of threat and challenges we are dealing with are of a transnational nature. If you talk for instance of climate change and its impact in the countries that have strong maritime interests, or fisheries or fighting drugs, or fighting terrorism, this requires a transnational response. No country can face these things alone, so we need to articulate a proper European strategy," added the Portuguese Socialist MEP.

She pointed to the commitment to increased naval cooperation in the recent Anglo-French defence pact as a potential model for more European link-ups.

The range of threats has been illustrated by recent world events from the seaborne terrorist attacks on Bombay in 2008 to the Gulf of Mexico oil spill, piracy in the Indian Ocean to the threat to stocks by overfishing or the clandestine shipments of illegal immigrants into Europe from North Africa.

ATALANTA MISSION

Europe's Atalanta mission against Somali pirates in the Indian Ocean has been hailed as a success. The EU's first maritime CFSP mission has ensured the free entry of World Food Programme supply ships into Somali ports and has helped limit attacks on civilian shipping off the East African coast.

EU officials say the Union has an advantage over security players, such as NATO, due to its ability to combine the naval patrols with a wider policy of aid to Somalia, including the training programme for Somali troops, and agreements with nations in the region to process detained pirates through their justice systems.

Despite the example of Atalanta, the report penned by retired admirals from Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Spain found deep problems caused by the failure of a plethora of military and civilian maritime security organisations to share information and work effectively together. The problem, they said, relates as much to communication failing between agencies within member states as it does to cross-border problems.

"One of the most important findings is that the barriers, the stovepiping, the difficulties to integrate are happening among sectors of

interests, not actually between nations, not across borders," said Spanish Vice-Admiral Fernando del Pozo, a former director of NATO's International Military Staff.

"Nations are cooperating among themselves, but only in specific sectors, the navy or police or fisheries or whatever. We found that it's between sectors where the problem lies," he told journalists after the report's release.

High among the admirals' recommendations was the need for navies and civilian agencies, such as coast guards, immigration, customs and fisheries authorities, to share real-time information on movement of ships and other vital detail, which would enable them to have a clear picture of maritime traffic and potential threats in their area.

European navies should overcome traditional aversion to full participation of their ships and aircraft in the so-called Maritime Safety and Security Information System (MSSIS), which helps track maritime traffic around the world, unless there are valid operational reasons for keeping information about their warships and aircraft hidden, the team said.

They also called for greater coordination at an EU level with an enhanced role for the European Commission's maritime affairs department, DG MARE, in establishing common definitions on concepts such as maritime safety, security and surveillance to avoid confusion and competition between agencies and for the expansion of regular talks between the heads of navies and coast guards of EU member states.

Many European officials are looking closely at the enhanced cooperation launched by nations around the Baltic Sea in 2008 to develop a real-time information sharing system to integrate the fragmented surveillance networks of their navies and civilian authorities, such as police, coast guards and customs.

The pressure for Europe to produce a more integrated approach to maritime security is likely to grow faced with looming challenges, such as increased competition for sea-bed resources, rising sea levels related to climate change, spreading threats to sea lanes from pirates and the risk of more seaborne terrorism. ■

Executive outlines key elements of internal security strategy

By Manon Malhère

Strengthening security within the EU's borders requires a shared and coherent approach. The communication adopted by the European Commission, on 22 November¹ presents concrete proposals. The text identifies five strategic objectives and outlines 41 actions for the period 2011-2014.

"The European reaction focused for too long on one sector at a time. Today, we are adopting a common approach to responding to the threats and challenges ahead. Terrorism, organised crime, cross-border and cybercrime, as well as crises and disasters are areas where we need to combine our efforts and work together," said Home Affairs Commissioner Cecilia Malmström, speaking at a press conference. By abolishing the pillar structure, the Lisbon Treaty gives the EU the means to be more ambitious in this area. Police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, with just a few exceptions, now comes under the framework of the ordinary legislative procedure (co-decision), thus joining management and control of external borders.

A key measure of the multiannual Stockholm Programme (2010-2014), the broad outlines of the internal security strategy, were adopted in February 2010 under the Spanish EU Presidency. The Commission takes it forward with its

proposal to the Council and the European Parliament for a shared agenda and concrete measures.

FIVE OBJECTIVES

The measures aim first to identify and dismantle international criminal networks. A proposal on monitoring and assisting member states in the fight against corruption will be presented in 2011. The strategy also mentions a pro-

The text identifies five strategic objectives and outlines 41 actions for the period 2011-2014

posal to tighten up EU rules on confiscating criminal profits and instruments (Decision 2001/500/JHA).

A legal framework on the use of EU passenger name records for passengers on flights entering or leaving EU territory will also be presented early in 2011. Better known as the European PNR, this measure is eagerly awaited, in particular by MEPs, who requested it of the Commission in March 2010.

Under the second objective, preventing terrorism, the Commission proposes the creation, in 2011, of a radicalisation awareness network in partnership with the Committee of the Regions. The

aim is to contain radicalisation and the recruitment of terrorists. Enhancement of the EU's transport security policy and the definition of a framework of administrative measures on the freezing of assets are also on the agenda. A policy on extracting and analysing European financial messaging data will be developed in autumn 2011. In other words, this measure will create the European version of the TFTP (Terrorist Finance Tracking Programme).

Several actions are also listed for managing cybercrime, for example the creation of an EU cybercrime centre by 2013 to build operational and analytical capacity and information-sharing.

The strategy also intends to boost security through border management. In this respect, a legislative text setting up Eurosur, the European border surveillance system, will be proposed in 2011.

The fifth strategic objective announced in the communication is to increase Europe's resilience to crises and disasters. Actions proposed include implementation of the solidarity clause (in 2011) and development of Europe's emergency response capacity (also in 2011). ■

 (1) *The EU internal security strategy in action: Five steps towards a more secure Europe*, available at www.europolitics.info > Search = 283083



EUROPOLITICS

I THINK THEREFORE I READ

Information:
subscriptions@europolitics.info

EU's counter-terrorism chief sets out immediate priorities

By Rory Watson

Two days before presenting EU governments with his assessment of four main terrorist threats on Europe's horizon, Gilles de Kerchove, the EU's counter-terrorism coordinator, discusses them with *Europolitics*. He highlights transport security, foreign fighters, cyber security and the link between internal and external security.

Appointed in 2007, De Kerchove sees himself as a bridge between the Council and the Commission and has developed fruitful contacts with many commissioners, whose brief now includes anti-terrorist measures. He worked closely, for instance, with Home Affairs Commissioner Cecilia Malmström on the internal security strategy action she presented on 22 November (see page 14).

LAND TRANSPORT

After the recent discovery of parcel bombs from Yemen, attention is now heavily focused on beefing up security of cargo planes, but De Kerchove is urging governments to look at potential threats to land transport, and in particular railways.

"I do not understand why we can enter a plane only after very thorough checks on what we are carrying and there is nearly nothing when you enter the TGV to go to Paris. We probably have to see whether we have exhausted everything possible. A huge number of people take the train every day. It is a difficult subject," he says.

He would also include metro systems in Europe's major cities to see "whether they are well prepared and have scenarios to minimise the impact of a possible attack".

De Kerchove points out that the EU has specialist committees for aviation and maritime security, but that no equivalent exists for land transport. He has raised the matter with Siim Kallas. The transport commissioner is showing interest in the idea and will set out his thoughts in a document he intends to present next year.

The counter-terrorism coordinator's second concern focuses on the phenomenon of citizens living in Europe leaving for a hot spot like Yemen or Somalia for the jihad and fighting there. Several return after receiving their training and indoctrination to plan terrorist attacks in the Union.

"How can we improve our response to this threat, prevent it and stop it? In my discussion paper, I look at several ideas

"I do not understand why we can enter a plane only after very thorough checks on what we are carrying and there is nearly nothing when you enter the TGV to go to Paris"

and make concrete proposals for legislation, some work with the diaspora and security of travel documents," says De Kerchove.

The legislation could be used to extend the definition of terrorism to cover the fact of going abroad for the jihad. This would further develop the 2002 decision defining the offence of terrorism, that was amended in 2008 to include training, public provocation and recruitment. Germany and Austria, for instance, have already changed their legislation to cover this type of behaviour.

"It is important to have a definition of terrorist offences which go with the changing nature of the threat. We need the proper legislation," explains the counter-terrorism chief. He points to France, which in 1985 adopted an extremely broad definition of terrorism, covering many preparatory acts, that enables security forces to intervene very early in the process to defuse a terrorist attack.

Another example is the joint EU and US project to work on the Somali diaspora in Scandinavia and the UK to reach out to youngsters and tell them

what going to the jihad means in reality. "Many of them have a completely unrealistic idea of what it looks like. It is not a dream or like fighting for Che Guevara. It is ugly, dirty, tough," he says.

CYBER SECURITY

Here, De Kerchove believes the EU is on the right track given the determination of Digital Agenda Commissioner Neelie Kroes to be more proactive in this area and the work Malmström is doing on the 'Lisbonisation' of cyber crime. He also points to the decision at the recent EU-US summit to set up a working group on cyber security and cyber crime – an issue which he and Council President Herman Van Rompuy had raised earlier with the US.

"My point, as with land transport security, is to insist on the need to step up the work, not so much on cyber crime, but more on cyber security, ie the cyber space as a critical infrastructure. NATO has put cyber security in its new strategic concept. But it is not only military. It is also a civilian concern," he explains.

In his paper, De Kerchove stresses the need to work more on cyber space as a critical infrastructure, to increase national preparedness levels since less than half the member states have adequate structures in place and to ensure governments have the necessary resources to react to an attack.

He does not particularly favour the creation of a 'cyber czar', but maintains "we need a comprehensive strategy to put together all aspects. Having something endorsed by the European Council with regular reviews and assessments would ensure more consistency in the implementation and make sure it is well coordinated".

The counter-terrorism coordinator's fourth message concerns the EU's fledgling External Action Service. He points to the need for expertise in the delegations if the Union to develop new counter-terrorism assistance projects as it has done in Pakistan, Yemen and Sahel and will urge EU governments to invest more in this area. ■

The most direct deterrent against security threats is understanding.

Threats to our homeland can come from anywhere. Raytheon's innovative, comprehensive, modeling- and simulation-based approach is designed to help customers address current and emerging threats across every front, including cybersecurity, identity management, border security, transportation security, and critical infrastructure protection. Customers count on Raytheon to deliver proven, integrated solutions that meet the broadest range of potential threats — protecting our infrastructures, economies and way of life.



INNOVATION IN ALL DOMAINS

Visit www.raytheon.com
Keyword: HLS-ENT

© 2010 Raytheon Company. All rights reserved.
"Customer Success Is Our Mission" is a registered trademark of Raytheon Company.

Raytheon

Customer Success Is Our Mission

SECURITY & DEFENCE DAY

Going global:
Europe's security policy challenge
Security and Defence Day – 30 November 2010
Palais d'Egmont, Brussels

Co-organised by:



Institutional Partners:



DEFENCE



Partners:

Raytheon



Media Partners:

Europe's World

EUROPOLITICS