

Analytical support to European defence developments - the Swedish experience



Tomas Eriksson

Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI)

Division of Defence Analysis

Background: Defence-related issues within the European Union

- Creation of EU:s predecessors had a defence-related *background* - prevent war through economic and industrial cooperation
 - Treaty of Paris 1951 - Coal and Steel Community
 - Treaty of Rome 1957 - European Economic Community

- Failed attempt at "European Defence Community" 1952-1954
 - No substantial "EU" defence developments until 1991/1999
 - Defence cooperation within Europe the realm of NATO and to some extent WEU
 - Informal coordination between foreign ministers since 1970

- Maastricht Treaty 1991 provided for a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
 - WEU to do the job on request (didn't really happen)
 - Focus on humanitarian tasks, peacekeeping, CMOs

Background (2)

- Developments during the Kosovo crisis 1998-99
 - French-UK initiatives (St. Malo 1998)
 - "No unnecessary duplication" with NATO
 - Creation of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)
 - Creation of European Military Committee (EUMC) and the European Military Staff (EUMS) within the Council
 - "Absorption" of WEU
 - Helsinki Headline Goal 1999: independent operations on army corps level (50-60.000 men + support elements) within 60 days by 2003

- "Berlin Plus" arrangement finalised 2002 regarding NATO assets in ESDP operations

- ESDP operations carried out since 2003

Background (3)

- Much focus on capability shortfalls (in reference to the Headline Goal) in recent years
 - Very similar to NATO's Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), in terms of shortfalls identified
 - European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) 2001-, and Capability Development Mechanism (CDM)
 - Creation of European Defence Agency (EDA) 2004, focus on equipment, R&T, defence industry & markets and capability; "stand-alone" organisation

- New "Headline Goal 2010" set in 2004
 - Included development of rapidly deployable EU Battlegroups by 2007, in parallel to NATO's NRF

- Major "ESDP bodies" as of 2007:
 - EUMC, EUMS and EDA in Brussels - <200 staff (!), many seconded from nations, and some budget to commission studies and the like

EU Decision Making

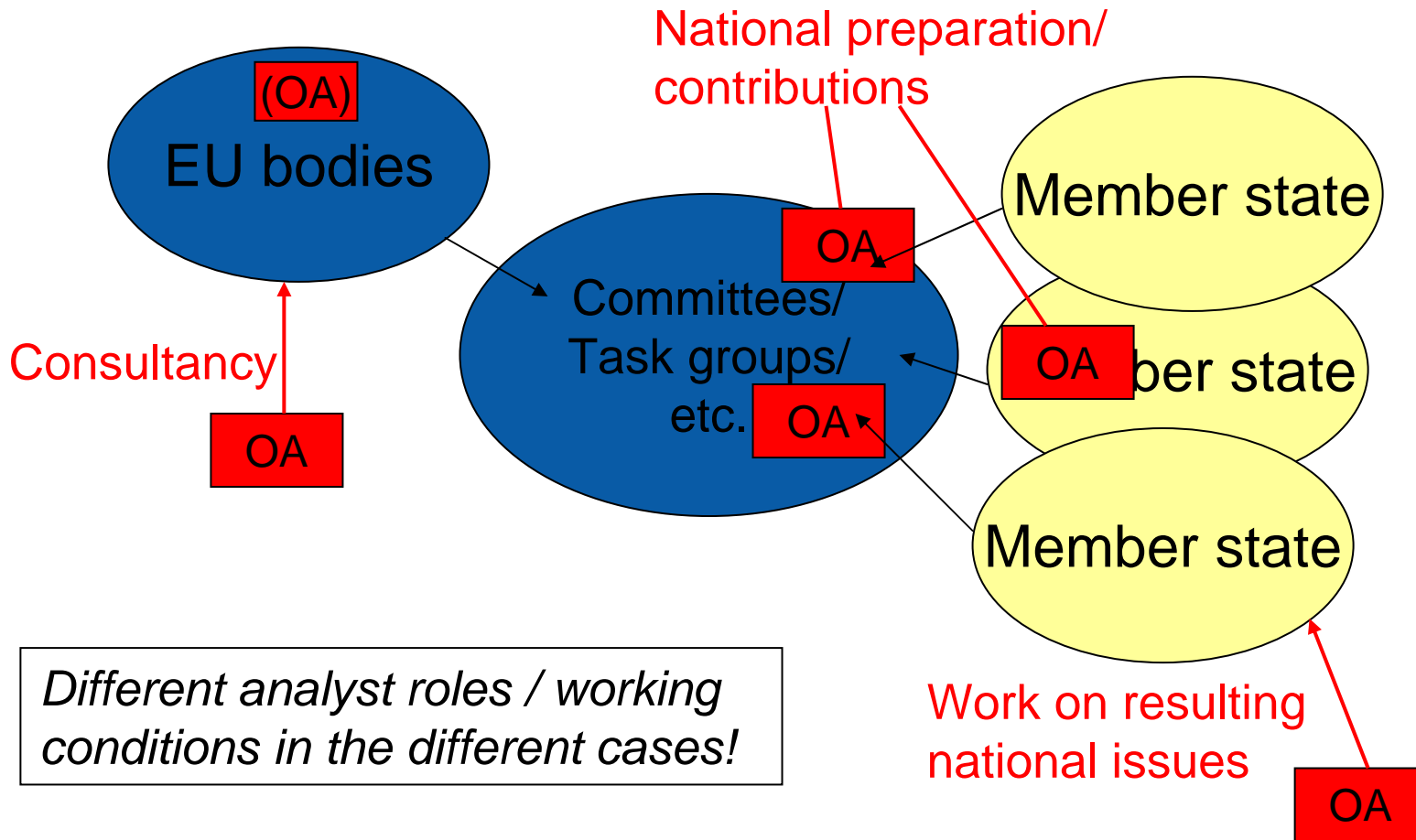
- EU a fairly unique construct mixing principles of *intergovernmentalism* / *"diplomacy"* and *supernationalism*
- The politics of EU structured into three "pillars" with different decision making rules
 - 1st Pillar most known and includes most areas
 - 2nd Pillar is Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
 - 3rd Pillar is Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC)
 - Role of European Commission, European Parliament and European Court of Justice is very limited in 2nd and 3rd pillars; handled by European Council & Governments, i.e. basically intergovernmental principles

Where does analysis come in?

- "Possible view #1"
 - Defence-related challenges with both traditional and new elements
 - Force structures, balance of investment studies, operational planning
 - Generally complex issues
 - **Need for, and usefulness of OA/analysis obvious!**

- "Possible view #2"
 - No real decision maker
 - "Diplomatic"/intransparent decision-making mode
 - No EU-level budget to implement decisions/suggestions
 - Very little staff in ESDP bodies, and quick rotation
 - **Looks like a hopeless situation if "real" OA/analysis is to be applied successfully...?**

Where does analysis/OA come in? (2)



Comparison to NATO-related analysis

- Several similarities - capability work (CDM) clearly inspired by NATO's Defence Requirements Review (DRR)
 - "what force contributions to ask the member states for, totally and each, given the shared goals and level of ambition"
- Differences: only CMO-related issues (in principle), not territorial defence
- An ambition to include long term issues – Long Term Vision (LTV) - in order to influence R&D and procurement, inspiration from some members states national processes
- Very few staff, high turnover and no operational-level HQs
 - Likely difficult to conduct studies/analyses with own staff - more dependent on member states' contributions
 - In principle no dedicated OA staff of their own
- Rather new, still very much under development
- Exists within a political framework that covers many other policy areas
- Slightly different membership in comparison to NATO

How is OA perceived within "EU defence community"

- Generally a positive view of OA
 - Fairly good acceptance of the fact that "EU defence issues" could benefit from the application of OA
- Staff from different EU member states with differing levels of experience of "using OA"
- Occasionally some misconceptions of what OA is and how it can (and should) be used
 - OA = computer models?
 - Those models can be procured "one-off" and used as a "black box" to provide "the answer" without having your own analytical staff?
 - Not always a realistic view of time, cost, number of people needed to perform certain studies and analytical tasks
- A recent CDM-related study recommended the creation of a small OA cell within EDA or EUMS, and highlighted the value of having your own analysts rather than just procuring models...

My thoughts on how to promote OA in "European defence"

- More cooperation between major military OA players in Europe?
 - Increased sharing of models, techniques and analysis results?
 - Should we coordinate efforts to provide consultancy to EDA? Make sure that actual OA support (rather than general consultancy from the open market) is offered where needed?
- How do we interact with member states with little or no OA and their representatives?
 - Would it be realistic to offer jointly arranged "OA awareness seminars" for them?
- Identify your national military representatives in various EU task groups, and try to make them your friends.
- Push for dedicated OA staff at EU through your national channels?
 - Perhaps a forum corresponding to the SAS Panel within NATO R&T organisation would be useful within EU?