

RE-THINKING EUROPE'S
SECURITY PRIORITIES



7 November 2011

REPORT
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REPORT



Foreword

Over 40 speakers and 340 participants gathered to exchange their views at the fourth “Security & Defence Day” in Brussels on 7 November 2011, organised by the Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) and CEIS under the patronage of Poland’s EU Presidency.

We were particularly struck in this year’s discussions by the importance of trust among member states and EU institutions. Amid economic and geostrategic turmoil, speakers identified a real need to build trust in order to move forward and meet both political and operational objectives.

We would like to thank the speakers for their contributions, in particular Polish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Jan Borkowski and European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services Michel Barnier. We also extend our warmest thanks to the French and German Defence

Ministers Gérard Longuet and Thomas de Maizière for their contributions to this report.

We also extend our thanks to this year’s organisers, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, and to our partners who contributed to the organisation and success of this event: the Madariaga Foundation, the Virtuoso project, financed within the 7th European Framework Programme for security research, and the EUROCYBEX project, financed by the ISEC programme of the European Commission’s DG Home Affairs.

We hope that Cyprus’ EU Presidency in 2012 will lend its patronage to what has become Brussels’ flagship security and defence event. We would like to invite you to join us for the next SecDef conference, to ensure that we continue to analyse and debate Europe’s key security challenges.

Giles Merritt



Olivier Darrason



Contents

Foreword	4
Op-Ed by Gérard Longuet, French Minister of Defence	6
Op-Ed by Thomas de Maizière, German Minister of Defence	7
Programme	9
Securing Europe's neighbourhood	14
The Role of the Weimar Triangle	18
Improving Europe's situation awareness	23
Strengthening Europe's crisis management	27
Reinforcing the EU drive on defence and security technologies	31
Time for Europeans to bite the bullet on pooling and sharing	35
Europe's efforts to develop its cyber-defences	39
The challenges for European maritime security	43
Speakers	96
List of participants	113
Version Française	50

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OP-ED

“The responsibilities of European defence”



Gérard Longuet,
French Minister
of Defence

2011 has marked a veritable turning point in the perception of security and defence for all European countries. Around us, the world is hesitating between two models. On the one hand, old patterns, heavy and rigid, weaken one after the other, with the Arab Spring showing that they can give way to unexpected developments.

On the other hand, a radically new international framework is seeing the light of day in which global powers are seeking the conditions of a new equilibrium. The hope shared by all, in Europe and the world, is of course that this new balance becomes a peaceful reality. We must however face reality: we are all threatened by increasingly violent and systemic economic turbulence, and while we know this will be profoundly destabilising, we struggle to grasp their cultural and social consequences. In terms of security, we must thus prepare for uncertain times, in which solidarity amongst Europeans will be the only remedy to the temptation of «each to his own» which will be our demise.

This is why one of my major preoccupations today is that of capabilities. Let us admit it: in spite of past and current exercises, a long-standing temptation in Europe has been to mistake pooling and capability abstention. But only reality can be shared, not declarations of intention. Be it in terms of know-how, capabilities or equipment, Europe cannot rely on a virtual roadmap. European credibility, be it within NATO or the EU, is at stake. While the Harmattan operation in Lybia was a success, the European Union was long

absent. We draw three lessons from this: first that NATO is of course indispensable, in particular for its coordination means made available to the Alliance member states. Second lesson: as the US did not make this crisis a major priority for their forces, nothing would have been possible without certain European countries making their own strategic capabilities available to the Alliance. Hence the third lesson: this situation could very probably happen again. And here lies the emergency. The will of a handful must be replaced by that of the entire European Union.

France expects a lot from initiatives that are beginning to move the red lines of European defence in spite of a difficult context. The Lancaster House treaty for example, which unites France to its British ally and is based on a common political vision and comparable military capabilities, is an integral part of this European defence ambition and this cooperation is not closed exclusive.

I am conscious of the need to reflect on an enlarged common action and as such I welcome the proposal expressed in the framework of the Weimar Triangle which unites Poland, Germany, and France.

In a world that is not necessarily more dangerous but more unstable and thus more unpredictable, the duty to defend regains its meaning and commits us to act collectively. I welcome the 2011 edition of the SecDef conference, of which I know the quality, and hope all the participants, experts and political decision-makers brought together in Brussels had useful discussions aimed at finding concrete solutions which Europe needs.

OP-ED

“Towards stronger European defence and security”



Thomas de Malzière,
German Minister of
Defence

European nations and the United States are currently confronted with a twofold challenge. On the one hand, we are faced with growing security challenges. On the other, significant budget pressures demand fiscal austerity, including cuts in defence spending. This austerity will have consequences for national armed forces, as

well as for international cooperation. Germany and many European partners are currently realigning the structures of their armed forces. Whilst highly necessary, these national reforms of armed forces are not enough. Preserving overall defence capabilities in Europe requires a combined effort.

If nothing else, the worldwide economic and financial crisis shows us that in a world of mutual interdependence, national solo efforts are not sustainable – neither financially, nor strategically. Already, some nations are unable to maintain a complete spectrum. Hence, we need a balanced European capability spectrum if we want to strengthen Europe’s political clout and to uphold burden-sharing within the transatlantic alliance.

First: Enhancing cooperation and integration

Against this backdrop, increased cooperation and integration in security and defence matters is the only viable option for European states to embrace. Coordinating the restructuring efforts

within the European context and exploiting the options for establishing specialisations in capabilities and in the division of labour through pooling and sharing would enhance the potential of European armed forces. This may need time and will require patience. In the end however, it will kill two birds with one stone.

Second: Avoiding duplication, utilising synergies

In order for our combined efforts to bear fruit, not only is bi- or trilateral cooperation required, but also cooperation within NATO, within the EU and amongst organisations. It is absolutely necessary for NATO and the EU to interact on a complementary rather than on a competitive basis – particularly in the development of common capabilities. It is of second rank whether we achieve more cooperation under the European Ghent-Initiative or NATO’s Smart Defence Initiative.

Third: Getting started, catalysing commitment

Germany will take the lead for establishing a pool of maritime patrol aircraft and intends to provide a multinational headquarters for the operational control of NATO and EU operations. Together with interested partners, we will press ahead with these projects in order to present first results at the NATO Summit in Chicago next May. Furthermore, we support the common procurement and maintenance of capability platforms, in particular, the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system.

Fourth: Calling for pragmatism and realism

Whereas the European project has been a success story, the record of the (relatively) incipient domain of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is rather mixed. It is an open secret that implementation in this area has often failed to live up to declarations of commitment. The limitations of multilateral cooperation, such as differing strategic cultures and constitutional matters, have to be taken into account. All of this calls for pragmatism and, above all, realism. The move towards greater European force integration is a process – and it has only just begun. There are two key conditions for its advancement: reliability and trust. States which leave tasks to partners need to be able to count on them to deliver in times of crisis. If we lack trust in our partner's reliability, any initiative will be doomed to failure.

Fifth: Shaping the way ahead step by step

With regard to pooling and sharing, Germany strongly supports a member-state driven process. Individual bi- or trilateral projects currently show the most promise of providing satisfactory results. We have already seen benefits in the areas of logistics and training. I am optimistic that these initiatives can be gradually expanded to include operational capabilities. In the long run, we need a permanent mechanism through which countries will continually assess what capabilities they want to share or pool. Ultimately though, these considerations need to become an integral part of national force planning and the NATO Defence Planning Process.

Nevertheless, security challenges will not wait for Europe to come to terms with its internal problems. Today, we need the ability to uphold capable national forces, the will to move towards more integrated armed forces and the courage to live up to our international responsibilities. Our combined efforts will pave the way for stronger European defence and security.

Programme

PLENARY SESSION Securing Europe's neighbourhood

09:30-11:00

Europe's security thinking is due to undergo an important overhaul once the EU's new diplomatic arm - the European External Action Service (EEAS) – formulates coherent responses to fast-moving security challenges. How can these responses be reconciled with member states' national political cultures and perceived interests? Issues ranging from missile defence to energy and military industrial cooperation to border security continue to divide member states and therefore EU relations with its neighbours. The idea of a pan-European security space including Russia has yet to find consensus in Europe, so what realistically should the EU's security objectives be and what political, economic and military instruments should it develop to further these?

Introductory remarks

Stefan Gehroid, Director of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Brussels Office

Keynote speaker

Jan Borkowski, Secretary of State at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Speakers

Francis Delon, Secretary General, French General Secretariat for Defence and National Security (SGDN)

Ivan Soltanovskiy, Director of European Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia

Pierre Vimont, Executive Secretary General, European External Action Service (EEAS)

Moderated by **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, SDA co-president and former NATO Secretary General, and **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

PARALLEL SESSIONS I

11:30-13:00

The role of the Weimar Triangle

The renewed Franco-British defence cooperation agreement was meant to give new impetus to EU's Common Foreign and security policy (CFSP). Have disagreements over military intervention in Libya highlighted weaknesses at the core of this policy? Can the renewed cooperation between France, Poland, and Germany promised by the so-called Weimar Triangle's summit in February 2011 give new impetus to the goal of a shared foreign policy? How might the Weimar Triangle harness political consensus in Europe to speed up decision-making and the planning and conduct of foreign operations? Is the EU now making progress in setting up its own command and control structures and has the time come for a single military authority? What role should the rotating EU presidency exercise in foreign affairs?

Speakers

Jean-Louis Falconi, French Political and Security Committee (PSC) Ambassador to the EU

Col. Rainer Meyer zum Felde, Vice-President, Federal College for Security Studies, Germany

Beata Peksa-Krawiec, Polish Political and Security Committee (PSC) Ambassador to the EU

Lt. Gen. Ton Van Osch, Director General of the European Union Military Staff (EUMS)

Karl von Wogau, Secretary General, Kangaroo Group

Moderated by **Pierre Defraigne**, Executive Director, Madariaga – College of Europe Foundation

Improving Europe's situation awareness

France's 2008 Defence White Paper emphasised that "in a world characterised by uncertainty and instability, knowledge represents our first line of defence." Yet European leaders appear to have varying levels of reliable intelligence. Do national security providers liaise with each other, and do the entities that make up the embryo EU information service have the means to analyse fast-moving crises and plan responses? Can Europe enhance cooperation in the area of open-source intelligence, and would a central European open-source authority be useful?

Speakers

Pascal Legai, Deputy Director, EU Satellite Centre (EUSC)

Ange Mancini, Intelligence Coordinator, Office of the President, France

Félix Sanz Roldán, Director, Spanish National Intelligence Centre (CNI)

Frederik Schumann, Management Team, Virtuoso Project

Moderated by **Axel Dyèvre**, Director of the European Office, CEIS

Strengthening Europe's crisis management

Crisis management in humanitarian emergencies is one of the EU's strengths, but rising demand for closer civ-mil cooperation means there is still room for improvement. What best practices are being drawn from operations in the Horn of Africa, and how can the tools now widely available throughout the EU be better coordinated? Can coordinated strategic planning between European development projects and crisis management teams improve the EU's security and peacekeeping efforts? What are the prospects for mutually beneficial co-operation in crisis management between the EU and other international actors such as NATO?

Speakers

Franziska Katharina Brantner, Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, European Parliament

Florika Fink-Hooijer, Head of Cabinet of EU Commissioner for International Cooperation & Humanitarian Aid Kristalina Georgieva

Agostino Miozzo, Managing Director for Crisis Response and Operational Coordination, European External Action Service (EEAS)

Col. Thomas Toussaint, Commander of the Joint "Civ-mil action" taskforce, French Armed Forces

Moderated by **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)

PLENARY SESSION
Reinforcing the EU drive on defence and security technologies
14:00-15:30

Europe's military shortcomings have made headlines around the world because the Libya crisis has coincided with recession-driven defence cuts across Europe. But what of Europe's defence industries now that the EU's defence package heralds the end to national exception from single market rules? Could it be that heightened concerns over Europe's security responsibilities will put cross-border partnerships, pooling and a drive against duplication much higher on the political agenda? Should the EU combine its long-standing aim of a single market in defence equipment with that of a single security market? Would such a move improve security of supply in the EU and help strengthen Europe's military outreach with advanced surveillance and weapons technologies?

Keynote speaker

Michel Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

Speakers

Claude-France Arnould, Chief Executive, European Defence Agency (EDA)

Daniel Calleja-Crespo, Deputy Director General and Special Envoy for SMEs, Directorate-General for Enterprise, European Commission

Christian Ehler, Member of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, European Parliament

IGA Pierre Schanne, Secretary General for Armament Systems Architecture, French Délégation Générale de l'Armement (DGA)

Moderated by **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, SDA co-president and former NATO Secretary General, and **Olivier Darason**, Chairman, CEIS

PARALLEL SESSIONS II

16:00-17:30

Time for Europeans to bite the bullet on pooling and sharing

European forces face increasingly severe equipment shortages in key capability areas, ranging from tactical troop transport to civil protection. To what extent could greater pooling and sharing reinforce Europe's military outreach? Is it time for European countries to accept "mutualisation" of key types of equipment and personnel, and how far will NATO membership affect certain member states' choices? Are civilians better than their military counterparts at sharing capabilities?

Speakers

Hilmar Linnenkamp, Adviser on International Security, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

François Lureau, Member of the EDA Wisemen group and former National Armaments Director, France

Jonathan Mullin, Capabilities Director, European Defence Agency (EDA)

Claus Haugaard Sørensen, Director General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO), European Commission

Moderated by **Jean Rannou**, Director of Security & Defence, CEIS

Europe's efforts to develop its cyber-defences

The European Commission and EEAS suffered a major cyber-attack on the eve of the March 24, 2011 summit, just months after an attack on France's finance ministry. Cyber-security has for some time been at the top of the agenda for public and private sectors, yet the EU still has not developed a coherent response. What are the implications of this leadership vacuum for critical infrastructure protection? What can greater public-private partnerships do to provide solutions?

Speakers

Axel Dyèvre, Director, CEIS European Office and Eurocyber Project Coordinator

Michael Hange, President of the German Federal Office for Information Security (BSI)

Col. Marek Pszczolka, Director, Military Communication and Information Security Agency, Ministry of the National Defence, Poland

Steve Purser, Head of the Technical Department, European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA)

Moderated by **Olivier Zajec**, Deputy Director, Strategic Studies & Solutions Department, CEIS

The challenges for European maritime security

Operation Atalanta and the Libyan situation both demonstrate that the EU is increasingly dealing with the maritime dimension and global challenges such as organized crime, piracy, drug and human trafficking, illegal immigration or the disruption of trade routes and energy supplies. Can the EU harness the wide range of tools and agencies at its disposal, such as EMSA, FRONTEX and its member states' national navies, to specifically tackle these maritime challenges? What legal or technical hurdles still prevent the EU from defending its interests and strategic supplies at sea? Could a European Coastguard coordinate the many national and international actors at sea? What EU capabilities exist in maritime surveillance, and is there room for cooperation with NATO in this field?

Speakers

Adm. Anne-François de Saint Salvy, Préfet Maritime de l'Atlantique, France

Beate Gminder, Head of Unit for Maritime Policy, Directorate-General for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, European Commission

Brig. Gen. Ilkka Laitinen, Executive Director, European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders (FRONTEX)

Rear Adm. Stanislaw Zarychta, Commander of the Polish Maritime Operations Centre

Moderated by **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda (SDA)



Securing Europe's neighbourhood

Opening the conference, Stefan Gehrold, Director of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Brussels office, stated that security and defence policy is a key element of the European integration process. "Recent events in the southern neighbourhood have shown the world will not wait for Europe to sort out its own problems".

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, co-president of the Security and Defence Agenda and former NATO Secretary General, began by pleading with Europe's leaders to "save the euro but to not lose Europe in the process". Citing European splits over approaches to the ongoing crisis in the Middle East and declining defence budgets in Europe, and acknowledging the importance of public support for Europe's actions, de Hoop Scheffer stated that "now is the time for more Europe".



Stefan Gehrold

Speaking about the Polish presidency's ambitions to see Europe develop and operationalise more coherent and capable security and defence instruments, Jan Borkowski, Secretary of State at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed the need for Europe to speak with one voice on security issues if it is to continue to set a positive example in its eastern and southern neighbourhoods.

Francis Delon, French Secretary General for Defence and National Security, stated that with the frozen conflicts in its eastern neighbourhood and the transitions in the South it is "incomprehensible that the

EU cannot play its role in the world". Delon noted that the EU's southern neighbourhood raises questions such as immigration and natural resource security, whereas the eastern neighbourhood poses challenges such as potential ballistic missile attacks from the Middle-East.

On the issue of ballistic missiles, Delon remarked how Europe had to work closely with Russia and how the two players had to partner on anti-missile defence. "Russia is no

longer an enemy", he continued, "and we must work together for our collective security because of political and geographical realities". Delon concluded by remarking that "even when there is more interest for

economic matters at present, we should still build up European security and defence".

*"The world will not wait for
Europe to sort out its own
problems"*

- Stefan Gehrold -

Taking a Russian perspective, Ivan Soltanovskiy,

Director of European Cooperation at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that dialogue at all levels between Europe and Russia is needed more than ever if challenges such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation and humanitarian crises are to be tackled. "We have a historic oppor-

tunity”, claimed Soltanovskiy, “to secure our common neighbourhood, but we need a legally binding arrangement and political will from partners to achieve regional security”. He warned against replicating the Libyan action by a NATO-led coalition elsewhere, stressing the strong need to safeguard the primary role of the UN Security Council in conflict management and to enforce the rule of law in international relations, based on the principles of non-use of force and non-interference in internal affairs of sovereign states.

Pierre Vimont, Executive Secretary General of the EEAS, wanted to dispel the current wave of pessimism by reminding the audience of Europe’s considerable assets. “It is true that Europe was divided over Libya”, remarked Vimont, “but the European Security Strategy and the Lisbon treaty offer us the right strategic direction on many pressing issues”. Turning to issues such as globalisation, decreasing defence budgets and the southern neighbourhood, Vimont explained that “Europe needs a clearer understanding of its strategic vision” and more continuity, coherence and complementarity where its actions are concerned.

Challenging the speakers with a question on the “Arab Spring”, Giles Merritt, Director of the Security and Defence Agenda,

asked whether Libya could serve as a catalyst for Europe to drop its “hub and spoke approach” towards its southern neighbourhood in favour of a more ambitious security framework in the region.

Delon responded by agreeing that such an ambitious approach would be useful, but



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

qualified this by stating that it may be too early for an ambitious European approach to the region given that events are still unfolding. Having said this, Delon remarked how no-one in Europe foresaw the “Arab spring” and suggested that crisis early warning form a more important part of Europe’s strategy.

Agreeing that the southern neighbourhood will have to look at ways for closer economic and political cooperation in the future, Vimont made clear that this is a period where

the EU needs to listen to the new leaders in the transition countries. “Security reform, for example, is needed in the region” remarked Vimont, “so if Europe is asked to assist with security sector reform we should be ready”.

Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, Trustee of Friends of Europe started the audience debate by focusing on the EU’s divisions over the Israel-Palestinian question. Vimont stated that despite the long-standing divergences between member states over the issue “Europe must move ahead with proposals for possible solutions”. “Europe is all about dialogue”, he continued, “so we have an added value in helping to narrow the gap between Israel and the Palestinians”. Soltanovskiy stressed the primacy of international law in dealing with

“Europe needs a clearer understanding of its strategic vision”

- Pierre Vimont -

the dispute and welcomed the constructive role of the Arab League in the region.

Joao Mira Gomes, Portuguese Ambassador to NATO, asked panellists what more could be done to promote EU-NATO cooperation in spite of all the well-known stumbling blocks and Europe’s defence budget pressures. Vimont acknowledged the complications in the relationship and notioned how there may be another twist in relations following Libya. Taking up this point, Delon stated that Libya has shown France’s commitment to NATO but it also means that the continent cannot “renounce European defence”.

Referring to the recently agreed Franco-British defence treaties, Sandy Johnston from the British Ministry of Defence pointed out that political leadership from heads of government is of paramount importance in providing the stimulus needed in defence cooperation. Delon agreed with this argument but stated that new security threats such as cyber sabotage and espionage should also provide further impetus, as should Europe’s decreasing defence budgets. Vimont followed on from these points by stating that “we are running out of time”, and with the US looking to the Pacific and new powers emerging “Europe has to integrate” further on security and defence.



Jan Borkowski



The role of the Weimar Triangle

Pierre Defraigne, Executive Director of the Madariaga – College of Europe Foundation, started by asking the panellists what new approaches the Weimar Triangle could develop to promote Europe’s consistency in defence and whether the absence of the United Kingdom in the Triangle set-up was a positive or negative factor.

“The Weimar Triangle was established with the goal of strengthening European integration on a range of issues”, stated the Polish Representative to the Political and Security Committee of the EU, Beata Pęksa-Krawiec. “This goal has been boosted by Poland’s EU membership”, she added. The Ambassador then outlined how it is not surprising that France, Germany and Poland want to cooperate given



Pierre Defraigne & Lieutenant General Ton Van Osch

the need to revitalise European defence, to manage defence budgets and to build on the trans-Atlantic partnership.

“The Triangle is about building up a few more bricks in the integration process” notioned Pęksa-Krawiec, in a way that promotes a comprehensive approach by bringing together the EU’s development, humanitarian, economic and diplomatic tools. “This is one reason why the Polish presidency of the EU has placed European defence high on its agenda”, concluded Pęksa-Krawiec.

Jean-Louis Falconi, French Representative to the Political and Security Committee of the EU, recalled that France has always been supportive and has taken the initiative on Common Security and Defence Policy through the Saint Malo agreement, the 2008 EU Council presidency and now in the Weimar initiative. “What is needed now is to

trigger the appetite of all 27 Member States for European defence”, continued Falconi, “so that they take up more of a role and share the responsibility of European defence”.

“There is no doubt that initiatives such as the Weimar Triangle are good for the EU-27”, explained Falconi, because it allows participating member states to address in particular capacity and operational shortfalls. This is one of the lessons learnt from Libya. We also need to address the improvement of the planning capacity and conduct of its operations by the EU.

Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde, Vice-President of the German Federal College for Security Studies, then stated that with the rapid change in the global balance of power, the shift in US priorities towards the Pacific and the rise of the BRICS no single European state can be a great power individually. He



Beata Peksa-Krawiec



Jean-Louis Falconi

then went on to remark how the current sovereign debt crisis could be a driver for security and defence considerations, especially if the eurozone-17 initiate fiscal and economic harmonisation. “There would have to be a spill-over effect into defence and security during such a process” remarked Meyer zum Felde.

Stating that his preferred core for defence would be built around France, Germany and the United Kingdom, Meyer zum Felde acknowledged that this would be unrealistic for the foreseeable future, meaning that the Weimar Triangle offers a positive alternative. “The Weimar Triangle are direct neighbours: in a nutshell they reflect a broad variety of Europe’s security perspectives from the Baltic sea to the Mediterranean, they are like-

minded in their strategic thinking in that both the transatlantic Alliance with North America and the European Union are essential, and

“The Triangle is about building up a few more bricks in the integration process”

- Beata Peksa-Krawiec -

France and Germany act in most policy domains –except security and defence as the engine of the EU and its core, the Eurozone”, concluded Meyer zum Felde, before

reiterating the need for more European integration in security and defence.

“Given that Europe needs to improve its defence capabilities”, remarked Lieutenant General Ton Van Osch, Director General of the European Union Military Staff, “initiatives such as the Weimar Triangle are to be welcomed because they facilitate cooperation between member states”. That said, continued Van Osch, more needs to be done in meeting budgetary pressures by further

improving pooling and sharing, by addressing the issue of burden sharing and by exploring avenues for common funding.

Van Osch said that “he is positive about the EU’s comprehensive approach” of bringing together civilian and military capabilities.



Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde

Drawing on the experiences of Libya, Van Osch remarked that while Europe had been criticised for being divided over its response, in fact the EU’s cooperation with NATO had led to the evacuation of approximately 4,400 European citizens from the North African country. “Initiatives such as the Weimar Triangle”, he concluded, “should be seen as positive, especially if they boost Europe’s crisis response in such situations”.

Karl von Wogau, Secretary General of the Kangaroo Group, began by stressing the need for a broad approach to security and defence. “This is important”, he continued, “because

in many countries there is a lack of economic and social stability, and Europe can play a strong role here because of the range of its capabilities”. That said, von Wogau then stated that the experiences of Libya show that the EU has to seriously reflect upon on its responses to crises.

For von Wogau the Weimar Triangle could be important in developing further the EU’s battlegroups and in addressing the lack of a coherent operational command structure for European security and defence operations. However, he struck a cautionary tone by remarking that initiatives such as the Weimar Triangle run the risk of excluding smaller member states. “France and Germany do not always understand each other on defence”, concluded von Wogau, “so

it is important to work with more member states and some smaller member states like Luxembourg or Belgium to foster their mutual understanding”.

During the discussion between the panelists Meyer zum Felde stated that the Weimar Triangle should remain open to other member states to encourage complementarity. Falconi pointed out that the Weimar Triangle is open to new members, as shown by the cooperation with Italy and Spain. Van Osch recalled that permanent structured cooperation was not designed to exclude smaller member states but to encourage

cooperation between willing countries.

Starting the debate from the floor was Paul Flaherty, former British Deputy Permanent Representative to NATO, who provoked the panelists by asking how the EU can develop military capabilities that would be relevant for operations such as Libya. “In planning for the 2013 Weimar Triangle Battlegroup formation”, responded Beata Pełsa-Krawiec, “we are looking at the capabilities that would be needed for crisis response”. Many of the other panellists responded by stating that the political willingness to act in situations such as Libya is just as important as the capabilities one has.



Karl von Wogau

“Sovereignty means nothing without the necessary means and capabilities behind it”

- Rear Admiral Jacques Rosiers -

Rear Admiral Jacques Rosiers, President of the Euro-Atlantic Association of Belgium, then bluntly asked if smaller member

states had to “give up” sovereignty in favour of the larger states for European defence to really work. von Wogau took up this challenging question by saying that “if Europe is to remain sovereign in today’s world, then it will need to share sovereignty more”. Falconi supported this by stating that “sovereignty means nothing without the necessary means and capabilities behind it”.

Responding to a question from German MEP Michael Gahler on shared costs for operations under the Athena mechanism, Falconi stated that a political decision would be needed to overcome the traditional debate regarding financial questions and we are not yet there. Pełsa-Krawiec confirmed that the Polish presidency is presently working on Athena through the Council, but she remarked that the aim is not just to share costs but to also spend more efficiently. Placing this question in the broader context of defence budget cuts, Van Osch concluded by saying that a political solution to Athena is required.



Improving Europe's situation awareness

Axel Dyèvre, Director of the Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique (CEIS) European office, started by underlining the importance of intelligence and remarked how “the purpose of intelligence is to enlighten political decisions”.

Dyèvre also distinguished between espionage and information analysis, and reminded the audience that intelligence is as much about information analysis as it is intelligence information gathering, from secret or open sources.

Recalling that the Lisbon treaty allows for further progress on intelligence sharing, General Félix Sanz Roldán, Director of the Spanish National Intelligence Centre, stated that “interaction between intelligence services across the EU is essential.” He added

that Europe is in the initial stages of intelligence sharing and has made progress, but there is a long way to go in coordinating national systems and building trust between them. “One way of doing this” recommended Sanz Roldàn “is perhaps to have EU-wide training courses for intelligence professionals”.

The General concluded by saying that national intelligence services have to be more flexible at a European level, but that the EU needs to give a clearer picture of what it expects from the intelligence communities. “It would be very useful”, stated Sanz Roldàn, “if the EU gave us more feedback on the utility of the intelligence we



General Félix Sanz Roldàn

provide, but at the national level we have to assist the Joint EU Situation Centre with the real-time processing of crisis intelligence”.

Ange Mancini, Intelligence Coordinator at the Office of the French President, began by bring-

ing together the concepts of intelligence as espionage and analysis with the remark that the French National Intelligence Coordinator makes no such distinction. “While the job of Intelligence Coordinator is relatively young”, explained Mancini, “the aim is to work in an integrated manner by bringing together the information gathering and analysis processes”. He added that this is achieved in France by extensive training of intelligence professionals.



Ange Mancini

Commenting on intelligence at the European level, Mancini struck a cautious note by stating that national authorities should ultimately have control over their intelligence work. “There is of course merit in



Pascal Legai

coordinating efforts and putting in place a more efficient working practice between the member states”, continued Mancini. He then qualified this by pointing out that that Lisbon treaty gives little room for a community approach to intelligence sharing, and leaves the responsibility with the member states albeit in an intergovernmental manner.

Speaking on behalf of the EU Satellite Centre (EUSC), its Deputy Director Pascal Legai remarked how the task of the Centre is to build and to share intelligence between 27 Member States. “Usually, intelligence is, by nature, a very sensitive field that stays at a national level”, he continued, and at the best exchanged in a bilateral framework in a win-win partnership. Legai then stated that as the EUSC does not own satellite sen-

sors and has no direct access to them, the permanent challenge is to acquire imagery in due time, mainly commercial imagery, in particular in the case of emergencies. “That is why for an effective intelligence process, open sources turn out to be essential, but these sources also need to be available, consolidated and validated to become useful and reliable data”, he added.

“Usually, intelligence is, by nature, a very sensitive field that stays at a national level”

- Pascal Legai -

“Large quantities of open source material” he explained, “not only means that we need to ensure quality control across the whole intelligence supply chain, but that we require highly trained analysts and more interaction between national intelligence services”. In this regard, Legai continued, a “Central European open source authority” could be a very interesting solution. Lastly, beyond the need for equipment, analysis capacity is needed. That means developing analysts’ skills and having appropriate tools to help them with their work. “It is an essential axis of effort to turn information into relevant intelligence”, he concluded.

Frederik Schumann, of the Virtuoso Project management team, stated that a major problem for the intelligence community is that there is often too much information and it is difficult to have trustworthy sources. The aim of the three-year Virtuoso Project is to enable end-users in the intelligence field to cope with open source materials. “End users usually have very specific needs”, he concluded, “and therefore the project aims to tailor solutions to meet these needs”.

Kicking off the debate, Dyèvre asked panellists if they thought an EU intelligence training academy would help lower the sensitivity of national services. Ange Mancini remarked that there is no real need for a supranational intelligence academy because

the ultimate competency for intelligence rests with the member states. Confirming that the EU is trying to create a network between EUSC and national military/civil-

“The EU is not in the position today to share everything with everyone”

- Félix Sanz Roldán -

ian training academies in the field of imagery analysis, Legai added that common training will lead to more exchange of material and instructors which is positive, training being a less sensitive approach in the intelligence domain to develop a common culture and methods between 27 Member States.

An audience member then asked about the degree to which member states fear sharing information with each other. Sanz Roldán replied that “the EU is not in the position today to share everything with everyone”, but it is making progress on a case-by-case basis in sharing intelligence. What is needed, he added, are procedures at the European level that will keep information safe.

A final question reflected on whether NATO or the EU is the better organisation in which to share intelligence. Sanz Roldán explained how NATO has been around for fifty years and has been indispensable for intelligence sharing, even though it has to continue to adapt and refine its intelligence sharing model, stating that NATO is “by far a better place to share information than today’s EU”. Legai qualified this comment by commenting on the positive experience witnessed during the Libya crisis, with the EU able and willing to share intelligence with NATO.



Frederik Schumann



Strengthening Europe's crisis management

Giles Merritt, Director of the SDA, started by remarking how in the past it was very difficult to get NGOs to work with the military, but that resistance has steadily decreased over time with more cooperation between military and humanitarian communities. Explaining how Europe is clearly the model for developing institutions in conflict areas, Merritt then asked whether the experiences in Afghanistan have undermined Europe's claim to be able to build credible governance structures.

Speaking from a military perspective on civil-military cooperation, Colonel Thomas Toussaint, Commander of the Joint "Civ-mil action" task-force of the French Armed Forces, noted that the EU mainly manage counter-insurgency and stabilisation conflicts. "It has to manage such armed conflicts", he continued, "not by military means alone". A comprehensive approach using civilian tools is also required if Europe is to stop civilian populations in operation theatres from joining

insurgencies or from engaging in de-stabilising and criminal activities.

Toussaint stated that in highly insecure environments only the military is able to respond. “A force commander has contact with local populations, NGOs and IGOs and uses experts to identify appropriate projects”, he added. Toussaint explained that “such projects must have local visibility, involve local authorities, be coherent with NGO programmes, be sustainable and not create a situation of dependence.” “If the EU wants to strengthen its crisis management response”, he concluded, “it must reinforce its civil-military capabilities and improve coordination between member states”.

German MEP Franziska Katharina Brantner challenged the audience to think about what is meant by “crisis”. She highlighted the cyclical nature of conflicts, with post-conflict states regularly falling back into violence, and reminded the



Colonel Thomas Toussaint

audience that “the great challenge for the EEAS is to break this cycle of conflict”. “To do this”, Brantner continued, “Europe needs a holistic crisis management approach backed by effective institutions, tools and funding”. “It cannot just

rely on economic and political sanctioning in its response to crises but must focus much more on early warning and crisis prevention”, she added.



Giles Merritt

“The EU has not taken the opportunity afforded by the Lisbon treaty to merge all its crisis management capacities”, continued Brantner. Stating that there is a lack of civilian planning in the EEAS, the MEP noted that “the EU is not quite there yet in terms of coordination and coherence.” She asked whether civilian action under the CSDP is always the best response when alternatives are available through the community method. “Keeping CSDP alive at all costs by undertaking missions is not the only option”, concluded Brantner.

Florika Fink-Hooijer, Head of Cabinet of the EU Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis response, began by pointing to the increased relevance of the EU’s humanitarian assistance in a changing world with a higher intensity and complexity of conflicts. Yet, sanctions and humanitarian relief cannot be sustained as the EU’s default response to conflicts. She emphasised the principled approach of the EU’s humanitarian assistance which in times of



Florika Fink-Hooijer

fiscal scarcity faces attempts of politicisation. Agreeing with Brantner's comment on the need for an integrated EU approach in crisis management, Fink-Hooijer pointed out that budget constraints provide yet more reason for the EU to use its numerous instruments in an intelligent and complementary manner bringing together economic, development and security tools.

Taking Libya as an example, Fink-Hooijer explained how cooperation between the Commission and civilian and military actors can work effectively. "The EU was involved in the repatriation of third country nationals, the evacuation of EU citizens and the provision of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population", stated Fink-Hooijer. "We now have to concentrate on the difficult humanitarian and security situation in the Horn", she concluded, "which cannot be left as a task for humanitarian and development assistance alone".



Franziska Katharina Brantner

Agostino Miozzo, Managing Director for Crisis Response and Operational Coordination at the EEAS, began an enthusiastic defence of the EU's crisis management capabilities, and took exception to Brantner's pessimistic views even though he recognised that "the EU is far from perfect in its crisis response". "The EU gave a strong response to the Haiti crisis even if we did not get the media coverage", he continued. Miozzo

added that the fact that Libyans saw the EU flag flying above buildings was a positive sign that Europe was there to help.

"The EU cannot just rely on economic and political sanctioning in its response to crises but must focus much more on early warning and crisis prevention"

- Franziska Katharina Brantner-

Miozzo then moved on to the work still to be done by outlining the difficulties of getting diplomats and civil protection services to operate in real time together. "We clearly need a more coordinated response", he stated, "but I remain positive that the more the national services work



Agostino Miozzo

together the more efficient and coherent the EU will become". Concluding, Miozzo said that a clear political strategy is needed in each crisis situation, and that political support from the member states and moral support from the public is critical.

In the debate that followed, Giles Merritt asked the panellists if more money and personnel are required for crisis management operations. Both Brantner and Toussaint responded immediately by saying that money and personnel were needed because of the range of tasks. Toussaint did however acknowledge that more money would be unrealistic at present. Merritt followed this up by asking whether the EU is ready to deal with a truly serious humanitarian crisis. Miozzo responded by arguing that Libya was an example of a serious crisis, but other panellists agreed with Merritt that the EU would be unprepared in some crisis scenarios.

Qualifying the meaning of the word "crisis" by making a distinction between natural and man-

made crises, the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Stefani Weiss stated that crisis management is usually political. Fink-Hooijer responded by drawing a line between the EU's humanitarian work and its foreign policy. "The EU's humanitarian assistance is not a political tool", she proclaimed. Brantner supported this by stating that the goal of humanitarian aid is to stop human suffering regardless of who the person is.

One participant put it to panellists that "NATO conducts military operations while the EU is reduced to cleaning up the mess afterwards", before asking how the EU can become an

"We clearly need a more coordinated response"

- Agostino Miozzo -

effective civil-military actor.

This triggered an interesting debate between Miozzo and Brantner, with the MEP saying that the EU does not know how to do state-build-

ing properly because it fails to bring all of its tools together and Miozzo arguing that when one sees what is going on in the field the EU can be considered a credible actor in crisis management. The one area of common ground between the two came when they agreed that the EU had to devote more resources to conflict prevention.



Stefani Weiss



Olivier Darrason, Chairman of Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique (CEIS), opened the afternoon plenary session by reminding the audience that Europe is in the middle of a financial crisis, with lower defence spending and less investment in research and development as a consequence.

“The key will be to reconcile decreasing budgets with the technical challenges and risks Europe faces”, he remarked.

Reinforcing the EU drive on defence and security technologies

As part of his keynote speech, Michel Barnier, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services, remarked that “with the financial and social crisis this is a crucial time, but defence also remains a critical area of policy for Europe”. “There is the emergence of populist movements and leaders are being tested by citizens and the markets”, continued Barnier, “but there remain international diffi-

culties such as the environment, terrorism and poverty which Europe must face”.

“Libya has shown that military instruments are still significant in protecting core values”, the Commissioner continued, “and the member states working with a strong and balanced transatlantic alliance need to work together on defence”. “Even though each member state is free to define its own defence policy”, he remarked, “the Lisbon treaty offers us the chance to forge a European geostrategic culture as a way of safeguarding our security”.

Barnier continued by referring to the important role played by the intra-EU transfers and defence and security procurement directives in opening up national defence markets to new competition. But equally useful, he added, is the establishment of a new task force on defence which will crosscut the Commis-



Olivier Darrason

sion services and work closely with the European Defence Agency and industry. “Keeping a European industrial base is important”, he added, “both as a means to ensuring Europe’s defence industry is globally competitive and to ensure our strategic autonomy”.

“Libya has shown that military instruments are still significant in protecting core values”

- Michel Barnier -

Claude-France Arnould, Chief Executive of the European Defence Agency, started with the caution that “given the budgetary constraints

Europe will have to do better on defence with fewer resources.” “The idea that more pooling and sharing is needed in times of hardship is not yet a natural reflex”, she remarked, “and the EDA believes the way to overcome this paradox is to enhance trust and confidence between member states.” Through this process, she added, the EDA is able to help avoid duplication and to identify future programmes that reduce Europe’s technological dependence on third-parties.

With the shortcomings that emerged out



Michel Barnier



Claude-France Arnould

of Libya, and the fact that the US wants Europe to rise to the occasion when responding to crises, continued Arnould, the necessity of closer cooperation on security and defence in Europe is clear. "We will not be able to act morally or politically without a credible Europe", proclaimed Arnould. The European Foreign Affairs Council meeting on 30 November 2011, and the NATO "Chicago Summit" in May 2012 will be crucial if we are to move ahead with meeting the many challenges Europe faces on defence.

German MEP Christian Ehler started with the comment that "ten years from now either there will be a real Europeanisation of defence markets or there will never be". Ehler equally stated that in 10 years there will be no European army, even though it is likely that a permanent European civil-military structure will be established. He pointed-out that owing to the fact that defence budgets and R&D spending on defence will decrease to meet the challenges of debt and social welfare costs, "Europe's share of the

global defence market will also decrease".

He then remarked that decreasing defence budgets "means that more needs to be spent on research to encourage innovation in the civilian security industry, and the European Parliament is negotiating with industry and the Commission to this end". Ehler then stated that the European Parliament is raising the budget for security research and innovation to €1.4 billion from an initial amount of €30 million, and he highlighted how approximately €2.2 billion will be spent on civil security research in the

future under the Horizon 2020 programme.

"Europe will have to do better on defence with fewer resources"

- Claude-France Arnould -

Reiterating the European Commission's commitment to a strong Common Foreign and Security Policy,

Daniel Calleja-Crespo, Deputy Director General and Special Envoy for SMEs at DG Enterprise, stated that the "Commission, through the recently transposed Directives on Procurement and Transfers of Defence-related products, wants to secure Europe's industrial base to enhance competitiveness and to assist in increasing cross-border cooperation on defence". "The Commission is working hard to enhance security research and to find synergies for cooperation



Christian Ehler

on defence”, he added, “but we also need strong political will from the member states in order to succeed”.

A sign of the Commission’s commitment to reinforcing Europe’s defence and security technologies, Calleja-Crespo continued, can be seen in our funding of security research at the EU-level. “We are working with the EDA, through the European Framework Co-operation to find European added-value in areas such as CBRN (chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear) weapons and we want to build on this good co-operation”.

Pierre Schanne, Secretary General for Force Systems Architecture at the French Direction Générale de l’Armement, began by stating that technological investment, the streamlining of industry and the harmonisation of European regulation are three essential pillars in maintaining long term security of supply for Europe’s

armaments. “We need to invest more in times of crisis”, he continued, “and Europe needs to avoid duplication, specialise in areas with the most added-value and ensure directives are transposed in all member states, as well as analyse the impact these directives have on the market”.

*“Ten years from now
either there will be a real
Europeanisation of defence
markets or there will never be”*

- Christian Ehler -

Continuing, Schanne suggested that research and development be geared towards technologies where Europe faces a dependency risk, and he added that

it would be good to launch ambitious projects to help streamline the defence industry and encourage greater pooling and sharing. “While numerous civilian-military synergies are expected”, he concluded, “we need similar mechanisms in the defence and security domains to coordinate long term capability requirements, equipment projects and technology roadmaps. In both areas Europe should keep up research efforts despite budget cuts”.



IGA Pierre Schanne



Daniel Calleja-Crespo



General Jean Rannou, CEIS Director of Security and Defence, started by commenting that while the idea of pooling and sharing is not new, defence budget cuts have raised the necessity to do better collectively in Europe. Rannou asked panellists how it was possible to create a climate favourable to cooperation and how the issue of sovereignty can be tackled.

Time for Europeans to bite the bullet on pooling and sharing

Brigadier Jon Mullin, EDA Capabilities Director, began by outlining the positive experiences of the agency in encouraging collaboration on projects such as helicopter training. “The 2009 Swedish presidency of the EU and the 2010 Ghent meeting of defence ministers”, he continued, “have added even more impetus to pool and share”. “Europe is biting the bullet”, added Mullin, “but we need to be clear about what we are biting on”. Pooling and sharing should be about delivering capabilities which meet shortfalls and save money, stated Mullin.



General Jean Rannou & Jon Mullin

He noted that “pooling and sharing is still not a natural reaction for many member states”, but now Europe needs to save money and spend what money it has much better. Mullin added that a top-down push is needed by the EU to encourage more cost savings. “There is no golden bullet on pooling and sharing”, he concluded, “only a step-by-step approach that demonstrates the advantages of cooperation through completed projects”. “Pooling and sharing is both necessary and inevitable, as fragmentation is no longer affordable. Our challenge is to do it as well as we can.”

Outlining the findings of a recent study, Hilmar Linnenkamp, International Security Advisor at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, made a number of recommendations on how to improve pooling and sharing at EU level and urged willing member states to engage in “avant-garde projects”. Working with the Weimar Triangle initiative, for example, Linnenkamp advised

that in the short term cooperation on smaller projects such as developing medical corps within the battlegroups could convince member states of the necessity to pool and share.

Moving on to the medium term, Linnenkamp suggested that Europe collectively develop light unmanned aerial vehicles

for civilian missions. This type of project would need to be steered by the EDA, and could also include the European Commission, and only a few member states would have the capacities

to build UAVs. In the long term, Linnenkamp believes the EU should concentrate on developing common armoured vehicles and reducing the number currently fielded by the member states

separately.

François Lureau, Member of the EDA Wise-men group and former French National Armaments Director, boldly claimed that he does “not care whether pooling and sharing occurs under a NATO or EU framework so long as it occurs”. “Europe faces defence funding shortages and capability gaps”, he added, “so it needs to act quickly on pooling and sharing existing capabilities”. Lureau continued by explaining how the loss of sovereignty should be less of an issue now given that defence cuts are weakening

*“Europe is biting the bullet,
but we need to be clear about
what we are biting on”*

- Jon Mullin -

Europe's capacity to act autonomously.

“There are however many hurdles that need to be overcome”, stated Lureau, including industrial considerations, lower defence budgets and who will eventually use pooled assets. That said, Lureau concluded, agreements such as the Franco-British treaties are encouraging but the “step-by-step” approach should not be used as an excuse for not acting, as has been the case in the past. François Lureau's presentation then centered on two existing examples of pooling and sharing: the European Air Transport Command (EATC), which arose from an initiative by Belgium, Germany, France and the Netherlands; and the Strategic Airlift Capability (SAC) for C-17 aircraft. These cases present the two extremes of the way in which one can conceive of pooling



and sharing. Given its strong integration and its independence from states, the SAC is considered by Lureau as the quintessential illustration of this principle, although it also gives the clearest reflection of why states show reluctance. By no longer having direct control of its capabilities,

for example in the case of the C-17 transport aircraft, does this not mean a big reduction in autonomy of action?



Starting with an overview of the EU's delivery of humanitarian assistance, Claus Sørensen, Director General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection at the European Commission, painted a positive picture of member state cooperation. “Be it the crisis in Darfur or responding to flooding in Pakistan”, remarked Sørensen, “good cooperation can be observed in terms of the provision of planes and telecommunications equipment for operations”. “DG ECHO does not have a lot of money”, he added, “so we have to use what we have wisely, and we are largely successful”.

Sørensen explained how partnership between national authorities is encouraged through trust-building measures and training programmes. “We make sure that each crisis response service has its voice heard so we can provide the right assistance”, he continued. Sørensen outlined how it is easier to identify operational needs

and to mobilise resources through common risk assessment plans and standardised training modules. “Where defence is concerned”, he concluded, “it may be worth trying to build trust between national defence authorities and personnel on smaller projects”.

Pointing out that the Franco-British defence treaties were relatively easy to agree because there were only two states in the process, Sandy Johnston from the British MoD started the round of questions by asking how pooling and sharing between a broader group of smaller states could be achieved. After Sørensen spoke of the necessity to ensure cooperation between all 27 EU member states, Lureau stated that a bilateral approach is worth pursuing if multilateral cooperation fails but such a process should be coordinated through the EDA and NATO.

Clingendael’s Dick Zandee remarked that a number of pooling and sharing initiatives remain uncoordinated, and asked what more can be done to structurally drive collaboration. Mullin agreed with Zandee that a structural working method would help, but he also raised the merits of taking a modular approach that would see the development of smaller projects which could then be opened up to more states when the time is right. Linnenkamp also spoke highly of a project-based approach but only so long as they are convincing and deliver real results.

Bill Giles, Director General Europe of BAE Systems, asked whether it was possible for member states to outsource more of their activi-



Claus Sørensen

ties to industry rather than just acting through public bodies. Lureau responded by stating that the benefit of outsourcing would be that one would at least have one single support system. Mullin agreed that industry has an important role in driving down costs and pooling demand.

*“Sovereignty is a concept
larger states afford themselves”*

- Hilmar Linnenkamp -

A final question focused on the role of the Lisbon treaty’s solidarity clause and the role smaller states could play if they were able to draw on the capabilities of the larger member states. Linnenkamp remarked that this approach would raise the sovereignty question. “Sovereignty is a concept larger states afford themselves”, he wryly remarked, “and smaller states will probably retain their position of dependency on the bigger states”.



Europe's efforts to develop its cyberdefences

Olivier Zajec, Deputy Director of CEIS' Strategic Studies and Solutions Department, opened the session by citing the large number of cyber threats that the EU faces, but he also drew attention to the difficulties of clearly defining these threats. "What

cyber threats does Europe face in reality", he asked, "and how do the EU's cyber-security capabilities compare to those of the US?"

Referring to the type of cyber threats, Michael Hange, President of the German Federal Office for Information Security, agreed that they are numerous. He outlined



Olivier Zajec

his approach to dealing with the threats by insisting that “it is not worth developing a concept for each attack, so what is needed is a baseline security concept that focuses on a broader bottom-up strategy.” Hange stated that the vast number of PC users need to be mobilised so that early warning is automatically built into cyber-security measures.

Turning to Europe’s efforts Hange stressed the need to avoid duplication, but he also commented on the need to give national agencies clear objectives and roles. “We need a sustainable cyber-security system at the European level”, added Hange, “and this means linking up critical infrastructure, intensifying the exchange of

information and setting clear goals and priorities”. On linking up critical infrastructure Hange concluded that national administrations, industry and academia should link up to construct a network of excellence on cyber-security.

Colonel Marek Pszczolka, Director of the Military Communication and Information

Security Agency at the Polish Ministry of National Defence, outlined Poland’s legal and operational initiatives on cyber-defence. For example, the Polish Ministry of National Defence has signed a number of memoranda of understanding with

NATO and the US Department of Defence for information assurance and cyber net-

“What is needed is a baseline security concept that focuses on a broader bottom-up strategy”

- Michael Hange -



Michael Hange

work defence, and the Ministry and Microsoft are jointly developing a “Security Cooperation Programme”. The Polish military, he continued, are also developing response capabilities which benefits from dedicated technical and coordination centres.

He went on to remark that a legal framework is needed to meet cyber-defence shortfalls in national systems, and suggested that NATO develop its strategic concept further on non-traditional security threats. Pszczolka also remarked how it is crucial for cooperation between all bodies responsible for cyber defence in Europe and NATO, which would see greater synergy of technical, legal and organisational actions on information sharing and cyber defences. He ended by stressing the importance of awareness-raising for the users of cyber networks.

Steve Purser, Head of the Technical Department at the European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA), stressed the importance of people’s behaviour and preventive technologies. “We need not only an efficient response mechanism but also a good prevention strategy”, continued Purser, “but such a strategy has to bring European citizens onboard as technology can only go so far”. “Public awareness-raising is thus a key element in Europe’s cyber-security response”, he added, “but so is ensuring that national authorities and the EU share information and expertise”.



Colonel Marek Pszczolka

Purser lauded the EU’s initiative to set up a cyber crime centre, as he believes that an EU-level threat forecast mechanism is desperately needed. “Initiatives such as this will surely help us align and reinforce national policies”, he continued, “the EU should break-down barriers between the legal, military, public and academic communities which are not used to communicating”. Concluding, Purser stated that the EU’s initiatives must fit into a global approach to ensure a broader basis for cyber-security.

Axel Dyèvre, Director of CEIS’ European Office, introduced the Eurocybex project, which aims to enhance cooperation procedures between member states’ cyber-security agencies. Dyèvre notioned how cooperation is essential before this trust-building is required and he explained how Eurocybex offers part-



Steve Purser

ners the opportunity to learn and exchange on cyber-security best practices. Dyèvre then concluded by stressing the important role which the project plays in building public-private cooperation.

The first question came from Dan Solomon, Senior Partner at Hawk ISM, who focused on the interconnectedness of key infrastructure in Europe and the deterrence measures

Europe has at its disposal. Hange responded by saying that the cooperation between various critical infrastructure branches with

regard to cyber security is not sufficient, and he added that industry and authorities often operate in silos with little information exchange or communication.

Continuing the debate on critical infrastructure it was asked if any country in the EU is truly prepared for a cyber attack and whether there is a contingency plan for such an eventuality. Purser responded by explaining that the levels of sophistication of the member states' cyber-defence systems differ. "Europe has a long way to go to develop a strategy that recognises the disparities between the member states", added Purser.

Zajec wondered if there were any retaliation tools that could be developed in order to discourage attackers from striking in the

*"Public awareness-raising
is thus a key element in
Europe's cyber-security
response"*

- Steve Purser -

first place. Pszczolka responded first with the comment that prevention is better than retaliation and insisted that prevention would have to rely on a coordinated EU effort. Purser sug-

gested that because it is difficult to attribute attacks, it would be equally hard to know who to retaliate against.



Beginning with the lessons learned from Libya, SDA Director Giles Merritt explained how there was a definite need for naval assets such as aircraft carriers even though member states such as the UK had cut their naval budgets. Merritt remarked how defence spending cuts will remain a contentious issue,

The challenges for European maritime security

and how this will give importance to ideas such as the pooling and sharing of naval assets.

Beate Gminder, Head of Unit for Maritime Policy at the European Commission's DG for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, began by recalling that "90% of the EU's trade occurs on the seas and oceans, and Europe still faces threats to its coastlines and



ports”. Such a maritime security environment demands that Europe cooperates further on coastal surveillance, she continued, but even if we see a number of efforts by individuals in national coast guard functions and services working together the European Commission does not want a harmonised EU coastguard.

“It is true that the EU needs to make cost savings and we need to act more efficiently while also learning from each other”, continued Gminder. She then stressed the importance of building trust between national maritime authorities, and notioned how joint training can help build confidence. “While the Commission knows there is a need for increased cooperation between the member states on the ground”, she concluded, “changing the mindsets of partners and instilling trust can take years”.

“Changing the mindsets of partners and instilling trust can take years”

- Beate Gminder -

Taking up the idea of changing mindsets, Brigadier General Ilkka Laitinen, Executive Director of Frontex, stated that “many in Europe are still used to operating in silos rather than thinking outside the box”. There are many technical and legal hurdles that hinder further cooperation. It is cooperation that is the real

issue and this is what Frontex is geared to achieving. A functional approach is needed where the different players have their own roles but in a concerted manner.

Making some recommendations on how

to improve cooperation on maritime security at the European level, Laitinen gave seven suggestions for the future: enhanced interagency cooperation, the fight against crime, integration of maritime surveillance, taking advantage of existing structures like European Patrols Network (EPN), the development of Coast Guard functions at the European level, improving the forum for the European Heads of Coast Guards and streamlining the EU’s financial instruments. The Brigadier General then concluded by explaining how in his experience



Brigadier General Ilkka Laitinen

joint training courses and exercises were a good method of boosting trust and cooperation between member states.

Admiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy, French Maritime Prefect for the Atlantic, believes that Libya has indeed shown the continued importance of navies and this raises many questions of Europe. “The EU needs to give more political guidance to the member states’ initiatives in maritime affairs”, the Admiral continued, “because Europe still needs to go a long way on its maritime security.” He then argued against a centralised EU maritime authority remarking that this would not be the answer.

“What we need in Europe”, continued

“Many in Europe are still used to operating in silos rather than thinking outside the box”

- Brig Gen Ilkka Laitinen -

Saint Salvy, “is a solid legal framework that allows different naval and maritime assets to engage in a coherent manner.” Calling for more information sharing on maritime affairs between member states, the Admiral then drew attention to the benefits of sharing lessons learned and best practices. He concluded by stating that “any framework put in place must focus on improving the possibility for national

navies to participate in crisis response and it must also be sympathetic to Europe’s coordination with NATO”.

Rear Admiral Stanislaw Zarychta, Commander of the Polish Maritime Operations Centre, outlined the maritime security situation in the Baltic region and cited the transportation of dangerous cargo and the threat

of sea collisions as a major concern. “It is not a question of if but when such crises will occur”, stated the Rear Admiral. Therefore, he continued, it is necessary for us to

build up a reliable picture of the security environment and to devise an action plan to deal with the challenges. “Poland is committed to improving its situational awareness”,

he added, “but this means that we have to further standardise our operating procedures and engage in collective information-pooling with European partners”.

Turning to the broader European picture, Zarychta warned that defence spending should not lead to a duplication of pre-existing maritime assets. “Instead of duplicating efforts”, continued the Rear Admiral, “the EU needs to ensure interoperability between national surveillance systems”. He pointed out that different national maritime surveillance systems need to be able to read each other, as this was a good way to improve national systems and to encourage cooperation between member states.

The first question from the floor focused on the issue of Frontex’s ability to ensure the fundamental rights of migrants. Sensing the negative undertones of the question, the Frontex Director reminded audience members that it is the member states which are responsible for border control with the Agency playing a facilitating role. After drawing participants’ attention to Frontex’s fundamental rights



Admiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy

“Any framework put in place must focus on improving the possibility for national navies to participate in crisis response”

- Admiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy -

strategy, Laitinen then added that “many of the rights issues cited by NGOs would never

have been discovered if it were not for Frontex’s own work in uncovering them”.

Merritt threw a provocative idea into the ring by claiming that Europe’s naval horizons had shrunk. He won-

dered to what extent Europe is planning for the right naval operations, and asked if the EU should be considering blue-water fleets in order to project power globally.



Admiral Stanislaw Zarychta

“The EU’s trade policy is indivisible, so why are Europe’s navies divided?” asked Merritt. Saint Salvy stated that the EU should not project power but it should have a clear set of ambitions so that it can rationalise spending on maritime assets. Zarychta reminded the audience that a more ambitious EU naval strategy would need more cooperation between member states especially in light of decreased military spending.

Captain Paolo Fantoni from the Italian Ministry of Defence then remarked how

*“It is not a question of if
but when such crises will
occur”*

- Rear Admiral Stanislaw Zarychta -

Europe needs a maritime strategy with at least a twenty-year time horizon in order to properly engage in long-term planning. Laitinen responded by stating that more important than a time horizon is the necessity to progress in a piecemeal manner, but he agreed that Europe will need a “joint vision of where we want the EU to go”.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin Cauchi Inglott from the Maltese Permanent Representation to the EU then remarked how assets such as military aircraft could also have a dual-use application for civilian missions. Laitinen confirmed that this had been tried before and agreed that this is an interesting avenue that should be looked into further for surface and airborne assets. Gminder agreed with Laitinen and stated that this would also be a good way to explore efficiency and potential cost savings.



Konrad
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“The international work of the political foundations is valuable for our country, as it contributes significantly to gain insights into foreign countries and cultures and to complete and enrich the image which diplomats and trade delegations transport. In fact, the political foundations abroad have another access and mostly a more direct access to the local people than diplomatic missions ever could have. (...) The political foundations not only contribute to learning processes abroad; but they also make the people learn – learn about the values and principles, which our community in Germany is based upon, and learn about our beliefs for which we Germans stand.”

Former Federal President HORST KÖHLER

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

The KAS is related to the Christian Democratic movement and is guided by the same principles that inspired Adenauer's work.

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civic education, conducts academic research and political consulting, grants scholarships to talented students, covers research on the history of Christian Democracy in Germany and Europe. KAS supports and encourages European unification, transatlantic relations, international understanding, and development-policy cooperation.

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Giles Merritt



Olivier Darrason

Avant-propos

Le SDA et CEIS ont organisé à Bruxelles le 7 novembre 2011 la quatrième édition de la conférence annuelle «Security & Defence Day».

Pour la quatrième année consécutive, la Présidence du Conseil de l'UE en cours, la Pologne, a patronné et soutenu notre initiative. Nous espérons bien sûr que l'année prochaine qui verra donc le cinquième anniversaire de SecDef, la Présidence Chypriote parrainera également cette conférence, qui s'est imposée comme le rendez-vous de haut niveau européen sur les questions de sécurité et de défense, à Bruxelles.

Plus de 40 intervenants ont échangés leurs points de vue et débattu avec les 340 participants. Et comme chaque année depuis 4 ans nous essayons de retranscrire la richesse et l'intensité des débats dans ce rapport. Cette année notamment, il est nous est apparu frappant de constater à quel point la notion de confiance (trust) entre les Etats Membres, mais également avec les Institutions Européennes a été au cœur des échanges. Dans un contexte économique et géostratégique troublé, les intervenants que ce soit dans les domaines opérationnels ou les domaines politiques semblent pointer du doigt un besoin réel de renforcer cette confiance pour avancer de concert.

Nous remercions tous les orateurs pour leurs contributions, au premier rang desquels le Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires Étrangères, M. Jan Borkowski, ainsi que le commissaire européen au Marché intérieur et services, M. Michel Barnier. Nous exprimons également nos remerciements aux ministres de la défense français et allemand Gérard Longuet et Thomas de Maizière pour leurs contributions à ce rapport.

Nous tenons à remercier également notre coorganisateur de cette année, la Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Et puis nous tenons à remercier chaleureusement nos partenaires qui ont permis l'organisation de cet événement et contribué à sa réussite : la Fondation Madariaga; le projet Virtuoso, financé dans le cadre du FP7 Sécurité; et le projet EUROCYBEX, financé dans le cadre du programme ISEC de la DG HOME.

Enfin, nous vous donnons bien sûr rendez-vous à l'automne prochain pour une nouvelle édition de « Security & Defence Day » qui permettra de continuer à réfléchir et discuter ensemble des défis à relever pour la sécurité de l'Europe et notamment la nécessaire confiance que doivent avoir entre eux les partenaires de cette aventure.

Giles Merritt

Olivier Darrason

Table des matières

Avant-propos	50
Editorial par Gérard Longuet, Ministre Français de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants	52
Editorial par Thomas de Maizière, Ministre Allemand de la Défense	53
Programme	9
Sécuriser le voisinage de l'Europe	56
Le rôle du Triangle de Weimar	61
Améliorer l'efficacité de l'Europe dans le domaine du renseignement	67
Renforcer la gestion européenne des crises	71
Renforcer l'impulsion européenne dans les technologies de la défense et de la sécurité	76
Mutualisation et partage des capacités : l'heure est venue pour les européens de franchir le pas	80
Les efforts de l'Europe pour développer sa cyberdéfense	85
Les défis de la sécurité maritime européenne	89
Intervenants	96
Liste des participants	113

Les vues exprimées dans ce rapport par les intervenants sont des opinions personnelles et pas nécessairement celles des organisations qu'ils représentent, ni du Security & Defence Agenda, CEIS, KAS, leurs membres ou partenaires.

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EDITORIAL

« La défense européenne face à ses responsabilités »



Gérard Longuet,
Ministre Français de la
Défense et des Anciens
Combattants

L'année 2011 a marqué un véritable tournant de perception dans les domaines de la défense et de la sécurité, et ce pour tous les pays européens. Autour de nous, le monde hésite, comme en équilibre entre deux modèles. D'un côté, des schémas anciens, avec leurs pesanteurs et leur inertie se fragilisent les uns

après les autres, et les récentes révolutions arabes nous ont montré qu'ils pouvaient laisser la place à des futurs inattendus. D'un autre côté, un cadre international radicalement neuf voit le jour, dans lequel les puissances mondiales s'emploient à trouver les conditions d'un nouvel équilibre. L'espoir que nous partageons tous, en Europe et dans le monde, est naturellement que cet équilibre nouveau se concrétise de manière pacifique. Il nous faut cependant regarder les choses en face : nous sommes tous menacés par des turbulences économiques systémiques, de plus en plus violentes et, tout en sachant qu'elles seront profondément déstabilisantes, nous peinons à modéliser leurs conséquences sociales et culturelles. En termes de sécurité, il nous faut donc nous préparer à des temps incertains, où la solidarité entre Européens sera le seul antidote à la tentation du « chacun pour soi », qui serait notre perte.

C'est pourquoi l'une de mes préoccupations actuelles est celle des capacités. Reconnaissons-le : malgré les exercices passés et en cours de clarification, l'une des tentatives en Europe a longtemps été de confondre la mutualisation et l'abstention capacitaire. Or, on ne partage que le réel, et non les déclarations d'intention. Que ce soit en termes de savoir-faire, de compétences ou d'équipements, l'Europe ne peut se contenter de feuilles de route virtuelles. La crédibilité européenne, qu'elle s'exprime au sein de l'OTAN ou de l'UE, est à présent engagée. Si l'opération mili-

taire Harmattan, en Libye, a été un succès, l'Union européenne en est restée absente. Nous en tirons trois enseignements : d'abord celui d'une OTAN bien entendu indispensable, en particulier du point de vue des moyens de coordination mis à disposition des Etats membres de l'Alliance. Deuxième enseignement : à partir du moment où les Etats-Unis n'avaient pas fait de cette crise une priorité majeure pour leurs forces, rien n'aurait été possible si certains pays européens n'avaient pas mis à la disposition de l'Alliance leurs propres capacités de niveau stratégique. D'où le troisième enseignement : cette situation pourrait fort bien se renouveler. Et c'est bien là l'urgence. Il faut qu'au volontarisme de quelques-uns se substitue la volonté de l'Union européenne toute entière.

La France attend beaucoup des initiatives qui tendent à faire bouger les lignes de la défense européenne, malgré un contexte difficile. Le traité de Lancaster House, par exemple, qui unit la France à son allié britannique et s'appuie sur une vision politique commune et des capacités militaires comparables, s'inscrit totalement dans cette ambition de défense européenne et cette coopération n'est pas refermée sur elle-même.

C'est donc conscient de cette nécessité de réflexion et surtout d'action commune élargie que je me réjouis des nouvelles propositions exprimées dans le cadre du Triangle de Weimar, qui unit la Pologne, l'Allemagne et la France.

Dans un monde non pas nécessairement plus dangereux mais plus instable et donc plus imprévisible, le devoir de défense reprend tout son sens et nous engage à agir collectivement. Je salue la tenue de l'édition 2011 des rencontres SECDEF, dont je connais la qualité, et souhaite à tous les participants, experts comme responsables politiques réunis à Bruxelles, des ateliers fructueux, tendus vers les solutions concrètes dont notre Europe a besoin.

EDITORIAL

« Vers une Europe de sécurité et de défense plus forte »



Dr. Thomas de Maizière,
Ministre allemand de la
défense

Les nations européennes et les Etats-Unis font actuellement face à un double défi. D'un côté nous sommes confrontés à des menaces grandissantes. De l'autre, une pression budgétaire importante appelle à une certaine austérité fiscale et donc à des coupes dans les budgets de défense. Cette

austérité aura des conséquences pour les forces armées nationales ainsi que pour la coopération internationale. L'Allemagne et de nombreux partenaires européens réorganisent actuellement leurs forces armées. Bien que nécessaires, ces réformes nationales ne suffisent pas. Le maintien des capacités de défense en Europe demande un effort combiné.

La crise économique et financière mondiale nous montre que dans un monde d'interdépendance, les efforts unilatéraux ne sont pas durables – ni financièrement ni stratégiquement. Déjà, certains pays ne sont plus capables de maintenir une gamme complète de capacités. Nous avons donc besoin d'un éventail équilibré de capacités européennes si nous voulons renforcer le poids politique de l'Europe et assurer le partage des tâches au sein de l'Alliance atlantique.

Premièrement : Renforcer la coopération et l'intégration

Sur cette toile de fond, une coopération et une intégration accrue dans les domaines de la sécurité et de la défense est la seule option viable pour les états européens. La coordination européenne des efforts de restructuration, l'établissement de

spécialisations de capacités et une division du travail à travers la mutualisation et le partage (pooling and sharing) augmenteraient le potentiel des forces armées européennes. Cela prendra du temps et demandera de la patience. Mais cela fera d'une pierre, deux coups.

Deuxièmement : Eviter la duplication, utiliser les synergies

Afin que ces efforts communs portent leurs fruits, non seulement une coopération bi ou trilatérale est nécessaire, mais également une coopération au sein de l'OTAN, au sein de l'UE et entre les organisations. Il est absolument nécessaire que l'OTAN et l'UE interagissent de manière complémentaire plutôt que compétitive – en particulier en ce qui concerne le développement de capacités communes. Il est secondaire de savoir si on atteint cette coopération dans le cadre de l'initiative européenne de Gand ou dans celui de la Smart Defence de l'OTAN.

Troisièmement : Se lancer, concrétiser les engagements

L'Allemagne prendra les devants dans l'établissement d'un groupement d'avions de patrouille maritime et a l'intention de fournir un quartier général multinational pour le contrôle des opérations OTAN et UE. Avec les partenaires intéressés, nous irons de l'avant avec ces projets afin de présenter des premiers résultats au sommet de l'OTAN à Chicago en mai prochain. De plus, nous soutenons l'acquisition et la maintenance commune des plateformes telles que le système Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS).

Quatrièmement : Un appel au pragmatisme et au réalisme

Autant le projet européen est une réussite, autant le bilan de la Politique Européenne de Sécurité et de Défense (PESD) est mitigé. Il est bien connu que l'application des politiques dans ce domaine s'est souvent limitée aux déclarations d'intention. Les limitations de la coopération multilatérale, telles que les divergences de cultures stratégiques et les aspects constitutionnels, doivent être pris en compte. Tout ceci appelle au pragmatisme et, surtout, au réalisme. Le mouvement vers une plus grande intégration des forces européennes est un processus – et il vient à peine de commencer. Il y a deux conditions essentielles à son avancement : la fiabilité et la confiance. Les états qui laissent certaines tâches à leurs partenaires doivent pouvoir compter sur eux en temps de crise. Sans confiance en la fiabilité de nos partenaires, toute initiative est vouée à l'échec.

Cinquièmement : Déterminer la voie à suivre pas à pas

En ce qui concerne la mutualisation et le partage, l'Allemagne soutient fortement un processus mené par les états. Les projets individuels bi ou trilatéraux semblent en ce moment les plus prometteurs. Nous en avons déjà vu les bénéfices dans les domaines de la logistique et de l'entraînement. Je suis optimiste et pense que ces initiatives peuvent être élargies progressivement pour inclure les capacités opérationnelles. A long terme, nous aurons besoin d'un mécanisme permanent permettant aux pays d'évaluer de manière continue quelles capacités ils souhaitent mutualiser ou partager. A terme, ces considérations devront faire partie intégrale de la planification nationale et du processus de planification de l'OTAN.

Néanmoins, les défis sécuritaires n'attendront pas que l'Europe règle ses problèmes internes. Nous devons aujourd'hui pouvoir maintenir des forces nationales capables, vouloir avancer vers des forces armées plus intégrées, et avoir le courage d'honorer nos responsabilités internationales. Nos efforts communs ouvriront la voie à une sécurité et une défense européenne plus fortes.



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The Madariaga – College of Europe Foundation is a Brussels-based think-tank dedicated to promoting original thinking on the role of the European Union in an era of global change, engaging citizens and international partners in a creative debate on the issues that shape Europe's future. The Foundation pursues a three-fold mission of challenging citizens, empowering Europe and preventing conflict.

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Ivan Soltanovskiy

Francis Delon

Giles Merritt & Pierre Vimont

Sécuriser le voisinage de l'Europe

En ouverture de la conférence, Stefan Gehrold, directeur du bureau bruxellois de la Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung a rappelé que la politique de défense et de sécurité était un élément clé du processus d'intégration européenne. « Les événements récents survenus dans notre voisinage du Sud ont montré que le monde n'attendra pas que l'Europe règle ses problèmes », a-t-il ajouté.

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, coprésident du Security and Defence Agenda et ancien secrétaire général de l'OTAN, a commencé par conjurer les décideurs européens de « sauver l'euro, mais de ne pas perdre l'Europe dans le processus ». Soulignant les approches divergentes des pays de l'UE face à la crise au Moyen-Orient et face à la réduction des budgets de défense en Europe, il a également



Stefan Gehrold

reconnu l'importance d'un soutien public aux actions de l'Europe. Selon M. de Hoop Scheffer, « il est temps maintenant d'avoir plus d'ambition pour l'Europe ».

Se référant aux ambitions de la présidence polonaise de voir l'UE développer et opérationnaliser des instruments de défense et de sécurité plus cohérents et efficaces, Jan Borkowski, secrétaire d'Etat au ministère polonais des Affaires étrangères, a mis en exergue la nécessité pour l'Europe de parler d'une seule voix sur les questions de sécurité si elle veut continuer à servir d'exemple positif pour ses voisins de l'Est et du Sud.

« Le monde n'attendra pas que l'Europe règle ses problèmes »

- Stefan Gehrold -

Francis Delon, secrétaire général pour la Défense et la Sécurité nationale (France), a déclaré qu'avec que compte tenu des conflits gelés dans son voisinage à l'Est et de la transition actuelle au Sud, il est « incompréhensible que l'UE ne joue pas son rôle dans le monde ». Delon a noté que le voisinage du Sud de l'Europe posait essentiellement la question de l'immigration et de la sécurité des approvisionnements en ressources naturelles, tandis que le voisinage de l'Est présentait d'autres défis, tels que de potentielles attaques de missiles balistiques venant du Moyen-Orient.

Concernant les missiles balistiques, M. Delon a fait remarquer à l'auditoire que

l'Europe devait travailler plus étroitement avec la Russie, notamment sur la question de la défense anti-missile. « La Russie n'est plus un ennemi », a-t-il continué, « et nous devons travailler ensemble pour notre sécurité collective compte tenu des réalités politiques et géographiques ». Il a conclu en signalant que « même si l'attention est actuellement focalisée sur les affaires économiques, nous devrions tout de même construire la défense et la sécurité européennes ».

Partant d'une perspective russe, Ivan Soltanovskiy, directeur de la Coopération européenne au ministère russe des Affaires étrangères, a souligné qu'un dialogue à tous les niveaux entre la Russie et l'Europe était plus que jamais nécessaire. Surtout si l'on souhaite s'attaquer à des défis tels que le terrorisme, la prolifération nucléaire ou les crises humanitaires. « Nous avons une opportunité historique de sécuriser notre voisinage commun, mais pour ce faire nous avons besoin d'une part d'un accord juridiquement contraignant et, d'autre part, d'une certaine volonté politique de la part des partenaires pour accéder à la sécurité régionale », a-t-il déclaré. Il a mis en garde contre toute répétition d'une situation à la libyenne avec une coalition dirigée par l'OTAN. M. Soltanovskiy a ainsi pu insister sur la nécessité de sauvegarder le rôle premier du Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies dans la gestion des conflits et dans l'imposition de l'état de droit dans les relations internationales dont les fondements sont les principes de non-usage de la force et de non-ingérence dans les affaires internes des Etats souverains.

Pierre Vimont, secrétaire général exécutif du Service européen pour l'action extérieure (SEAE), a voulu dissiper la vague actuelle

de pessimisme en rappelant à l'auditoire les avantages considérables dont dispose l'Europe. « Il est vrai que l'Europe a été divisée sur la Libye », a remarqué M. Vimont, « mais



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

la stratégie européenne de sécurité et le Traité de Lisbonne nous offrent la direction stratégique adéquate à prendre sur plusieurs problèmes pressants ». Sur les questions de la globalisation, de la diminution des budgets de défense et du voisinage sud de l'UE, il a expliqué que « l'Europe a besoin de mieux cerner ses ambitions stratégiques » et de plus de continuité, de cohérence et de complémentarité là où ses actions sont concernées.

Désirant mettre au défi les orateurs avec une question sur le « Printemps arabe », Giles Merritt, directeur du Security and Defence Agenda (SDA), a demandé si la Libye pouvait jouer le rôle de catalyseur pour que l'Europe abandonne son approche « hub and spoke » vis-à-vis de son voisinage méditerranéen en faveur d'un cadre sécuritaire nettement plus ambitieux pour l'ensemble de la région.

M. Delon a répondu qu'il était d'accord sur le fait qu'une telle approche ambitieuse serait utile, mais a tempéré cette idée en affirmant qu'il était sans doute trop tôt pour une telle approche européenne dans la région étant donné que les événements sont

toujours en cours. Ceci étant dit, il a fait remarquer que personne en Europe n'avait vu venir le « Printemps arabe » et a suggéré mécanisme d'alerte précoce des crises occupe une plus grande place dans la stratégie européenne.

M. Vimont, qui a convenu que l'Europe devra envisager de nouveaux moyens de créer une coopération économique et politique plus étroite avec son voisinage méditerranéen, a toutefois précisé qu'il s'agit actuellement d'une période où l'UE doit avant tout écouter les nouveaux décideurs des gouvernements de transition. « Une réforme de la sécurité est, par exemple, grandement nécessaire dans la région », a-t-il remarqué, « Au cas où l'Europe est appelée par ces pays à les aider dans cette réforme, nous devrions donc être prêts ».

Laurens Jan Brinkhorst de Friends of Europe a initié le débat en se focalisant sur les divisions européennes autour de la question israélo-palestinienne. M. Vimont a affirmé qu'en dépit des divergences de longue date entre les Etats membres sur la question, « l'Europe doit aller de l'avant avec des propositions pour des solutions possibles ». Il a ajouté que « l'Europe, c'est avant tout un dialogue, et nous avons



Jan Borkowski

donc une valeur ajoutée pour aider à réduire le fossé qui sépare Israël de la Palestine ». M. Soltanovskiy a insisté sur la primauté du droit international dans la gestion du conflit et a accueilli positivement le rôle constructif de la Ligue arabe dans la région.

Joao Mira Gomes, ambassadeur portugais auprès de l'OTAN, a demandé aux orateurs ce qui pouvait être entrepris en plus pour promouvoir la coopération entre l'UE

et l'OTAN en dépit des pierres d'achoppement bien connues et des pressions sur le budget de la défense européenne. M. Vimont a reconnu qu'il existait des difficultés dans la relation mais a observé que les relations entre ces deux acteurs pourraient prendre une autre tournure suite à l'expérience libyenne. En réaction à ce propos, M. Delon a affirmé que la situation en Libye avait démontré l'engagement de la France envers l'OTAN, mais que cela signifiait également que l'Europe ne pouvait pas « abandonner la défense européenne ».

Se référant au récent traité franco-britannique de défense, Sandy Johnston du ministère britannique de la Défense (MoD) a souligné qu'un leadership politique fort de la part des chefs de gouvernement se révélait d'une importance cruciale pour fournir le

stimulus nécessaire à une coopération en matière de défense. M. Delon a convenu du bien-fondé de l'argument mais a précisé que les nouvelles menaces sécuritaires, telles que le sabotage et l'espionnage

informatiques devraient aussi offrir une nouvelle impulsion, tout comme la diminution actuelle des budgets européens de défense. M. Vimont a ajouté que « le temps imparti est en train de s'épuiser », et avec les Etats-Unis qui se tournent vers le Pacifique et vers les nouveaux pouvoirs émergents, « l'Europe doit accélérer l'intégration de son secteur de la sécurité et de la défense ».

*« L'Europe a besoin d'une
meilleure compréhension de
sa vision stratégique »*

- Pierre Vimont -



Le rôle du Triangle de Weimar

Pierre Defraigne, directeur exécutif de la Fondation Madariaga – Collège d'Europe, a ouvert la session en demandant aux orateurs quelles étaient les nouvelles approches que le Triangle de Weimar pouvait développer pour promouvoir la cohérence de l'Europe dans le domaine de la défense et si l'absence de la Grande-Bretagne dans le Triangle représentait en soi un facteur positif ou négatif.

« Le Triangle de Weimar a été établi avec pour but de renforcer l'intégration européenne sur un certain nombre de questions » a déclaré en premier lieu la représentante polonaise du Comité Politique et de Sécurité (COPS) de l'UE, Beata Pęksa-Krawiec. Elle a ajouté que « ce but a été sti-



Pierre Defraigne & Lieutenant General Ton Van Osch

mulé par l'accession de la Pologne à l'UE ». La représentante a ensuite souligné à quel point il était peu surprenant que la France, l'Allemagne et la Pologne veuillent coopérer étant donné la nécessité de revitaliser la défense européenne, de gérer les budgets de défense et de tirer partie du partenariat transatlantique.

« Le Triangle de Weimar consiste à ajouter des pierres à l'édifice de l'intégration européenne » a observé Mme Pęksa-Krawiec, de manière à promouvoir une approche globale rassemblant les outils européens humanitaires, économiques, diplomatiques et de l'aide au développement. « Ceci est une des raisons pour lesquelles la présidence polonaise de l'UE a placé la défense européenne en haut de son agenda », a-t-elle conclu.

Jean-Louis Falconi, représentant français auprès du COPS, a rappelé que la

France avait toujours apporté son soutien à la défense européenne. La France a pris des initiatives dans la Politique de Sécurité et de Défense Commune, notamment à travers l'accord de Saint-Malo, sa présidence du Conseil de l'UE en 2008 et plus récemment avec l'initiative de Weimar. M. Falconi a ajouté qu'il « fallait à présent aiguïser l'appétit de l'ensemble des vingt-sept Etats membres pour la défense européenne afin qu'ils endossent un rôle plus important et partagent les responsabilités de la défense européenne ».

« Il n'y a aucun doute qu'une initiative telle que le Triangle de Weimar soit bénéfique à l'UE-27 », a expliqué M. Falconi, puisqu'elle permet aux Etats membres participants de répondre à des insuffisances opérationnelles et capacitaires. Il s'agit d'une des leçons apprises en Libye. Il faut également que les Européens prennent des mesures concer-



Beata Peksa-Krawiec



Jean-Louis Falconi

nant les capacités de planification et la conduite des opérations par l'UE.

Le Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde, vice-président du Collège fédéral allemand pour les études sécuritaires, a indiqué qu'avec le changement rapide de l'équilibre des forces mondiales, la modification des priorités des Etats-Unis vis-à-vis du Pacifique et l'émergence des BRICS, aucun Etat européen ne peut plus être un grand Etat individuellement. Il a ensuite ajouté que la crise actuelle de la dette souveraine pourrait agir comme un moteur d'amélioration pour les questions de sécurité et de défense, spécialement si les 17 de la zone euro initient une harmonisation fiscale et économique. « Il devrait y avoir un effet de spill-over vers la défense et la sécu-

*« Le Triangle de Weimar
ajoute des pierres à l'édifice
de l'intégration européenne »*

- Beata Peksa-Krawiec -

rité durant un tel processus », a remarqué le Col. Meyer zum Felde.

Le Col. Meyer zum Felde a fait part de sa préférence pour une défense commune construite autour d'un noyau dur constitué par la France, l'Allemagne et le Royaume-Uni. Il a cependant reconnu que cette perspective était irréaliste dans un futur proche et par conséquent que le Triangle de Weimar offrait une alternative intéressante. « Les membres du Triangle de Weimar sont des voisins directs. Ils sont représentatifs de la variété des perspectives sécuritaires qui prévalent en Europe, de la mer Baltique jusqu'à la Méditerranée. Ils ont une pensée stratégique similaire en ceci que, tant l'Alliance transatlantique avec l'Amérique du Nord qu'une

défense européenne leur semblent essentielles. Enfin, la France et l'Allemagne agissent dans la plupart des domaines politiques, à l'exception de la sécurité et de la défense, comme le moteur de l'UE et de son noyau,



Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde

la zone euro », a-t-il conclu, avant de réitérer l'idée qu'une plus grande intégration de la sécurité et de la défense est nécessaire.

« Etant donné que l'Europe a besoin d'améliorer ses capacités défensives, les initiatives telles que le Triangle de Weimar doivent être favorablement accueillies puisqu'elles facilitent la coopération entre les Etats membres », a remarqué le Lieutenant Général Ton van Osch, directeur général de l'Etat-major de l'Union européenne. Néanmoins, il a ajouté qu'il était nécessaire d'entreprendre plus pour faire face aux pressions budgétaires : améliorer la mutualisation et le

partage des ressources, s'occuper de la question du partage du fardeau et explorer des pistes pour des financements communs.

Le Lt. Gen. Van Osch a ensuite expliqué qu'« il était favorable à l'approche globale de l'UE » de rassemblement des capacités militaires et civiles. Exploitant l'expérience libyenne, il a remarqué que bien que l'Europe ait été critiquée pour sa division sur la réponse à apporter, en réalité, la coopération de l'UE avec l'OTAN a mené à l'évacuation d'approximativement 4400 citoyens européens hors de Libye. Il a conclu que des « initiatives telles que le Triangle

de Weimar doivent être vues positivement, particulièrement si elles stimulent la réponse européenne à de telles situations ».

Karl von Wogau, Secrétaire général du groupe Kangaroo, a commencé par mettre l'accent sur le besoin d'une approche globale de la sécurité et de la défense. Selon lui, « ceci est important car dans de nombreux pays en voie de développement, il existe un manque de stabilité économique et sociale, et l'Europe peut jouer un rôle fort grâce à l'éventail de ses capacités ». Cela étant, il a ensuite déclaré que les expériences en Libye montrent que l'UE a sérieusement besoin de



Karl von Wogau

réfléchir à sa capacité et à sa façon de répondre aux crises.

Pour M. von Wogau, le Triangle de Weimar pourrait se révéler important dans le développement approfondi des groupements de combat et dans la réponse à adresser à l'absence de structures de commandement opérationnelles cohérentes pour les opérations européennes de sécurité et de défense. Toutefois, il s'est montré quelque peu réticent, car des initiatives comme celle-ci courent le risque d'exclure les plus petits Etats membres. Or, comme « la France et l'Allemagne ne se comprennent pas toujours sur les questions de défense, il est important de travailler avec plus d'Etats membres et notamment des Etats membres plus petits tels que le Luxembourg ou la Belgique pour favoriser une meilleure compréhension

mutuelle » a-t-il conclu.

Durant la discussion avec les orateurs, le Col. Meyer zum Felde a déclaré que le Triangle de Weimar devrait rester ouvert aux autres Etats membres afin d'encourager la complémentarité. M. Falconi a ensuite souligné que le Triangle de Weimar est ouvert à d'autres membres, ce qu'a démontré la coopération entre-

prise avec l'Italie et l'Espagne. Le Lieutenant Général Van Osch a enfin rappelé que cette coopération permanente structurée n'a pas été conçue pour exclure les petits Etats membres, mais au contraire pour encourager la coopération entre des pays disposés à s'y engager.

Paul Flaherty, Représentant permanent adjoint de la Grande-Bretagne auprès de l'OTAN, a ouvert la discussion en provoquant les orateurs avec une question sur la façon dont l'UE pourrait développer des capacités militaires qui pourraient être pertinentes lors d'opérations telles que celles menées en Libye. Mme. Beata Pełska-Krawiec a répondu qu'en « planifiant la formation pour 2013 des groupements de combat du Triangle de Weimar, nous examinons les capacités qui seraient nécessaires

pour répondre aux crises ». La majorité des autres orateurs a répondu en indiquant que la volonté politique d'agir dans des situations telles que celle connue en Libye, est tout aussi important que le fait d'avoir la capacité de s'y engager.

Sans détour, le Contre-amiral Jacques Rosiers, président de l'Association euro-atlantique de Belgique, a ensuite demandé si les petits Etats membres devaient abandonner leur souveraineté en faveur des plus grands pour que la défense européenne fonctionne réellement. M. Von Wogau a pris en charge cette question difficile en répondant que « si l'Europe veut conserver sa souveraineté dans le monde actuel, alors elle devra apprendre à la partager plus ». M. Falconi a soutenu cette idée en ajoutant que « la souveraineté implique des moyens et des capacités sans lesquels elle n'est rien ».

« La souveraineté n'a aucune valeur si elle n'est pas soutenue par les moyens et les capacités nécessaires. »

- Contre-amiral Jacques Rosiers -

M. Falconi, répondant à une question du parlementaire européen Michael Gahler sur les coûts partagés d'opérations fonctionnant sous le mécanisme Athena, a affirmé qu'une décision politique serait nécessaire pour dépasser le traditionnel débat sur les questions financières. Il a cependant reconnu que l'Europe en était encore loin. Mme Peksa-Krawiec a confirmé que

la présidence polonaise travaillait actuellement sur Athena par l'intermédiaire du Conseil, mais elle a fait remarquer que le but n'était pas juste de partager les coûts mais aussi de dépenser plus efficacement. Replaçant

cette question dans le contexte plus large des coupures dans les budgets de défense, le Lieutenant Général Van Osch a conclu qu'une solution politique pour Athena était requise.



Améliorer l'efficacité de l'Europe dans le domaine du renseignement

Axel Dyèvre, directeur du bureau européen de la Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique (CEIS), a commencé par souligner l'importance du renseignement et a remarqué combien « le but du renseignement était d'éclairer les décideurs politiques ». M. Dyèvre a également tenu à distinguer l'espionnage de l'analyse du renseignement. Il a rappelé à l'auditoire que la valeur du renseignement réside davantage dans l'analyse que dans la simple collecte d'informations secrètes ou non.

Après avoir rappelé que le Traité de Lisbonne permet des progrès dans le domaine du partage de renseignements, le Général Félix Sanz Roldán, directeur du Centre espagnol de renseignement national, a affirmé que « l'interaction entre les services de renseignements à travers l'UE est essentielle ». Il a ajouté que l'Europe

en est encore au stade initial du partage de renseignements et a fait des progrès, il reste néanmoins un long chemin à parcourir pour coordonner efficacement les systèmes nationaux et pour instaurer la confiance entre les partenaires. « Une manière de rendre cela possible », a-t-il recommandé, « est

peut-être d'avoir des formations communes pour les professionnels du renseignement ».

Le Général a conclu en disant que les services nationaux de renseignement doivent être plus flexibles au niveau européen, mais également que l'UE doit nécessairement offrir pour cela une image plus claire de ce qu'elle attend de la part de la communauté du renseignement. Il a indiqué qu'il « serait très utile que l'UE offre plus de retour d'information sur l'utilité des renseignements que nous



General Félix Sanz Roldán

fournissons, mais au niveau national, nous devons également offrir notre assistance au Centre de situation de l'UE (SITCEN) avec le traitement du renseignement en temps réel et lors des crises ».

Ange Mancini, Coordinateur national du renseignement pour le Bureau

du président français, a débuté sa présentation en mettant en parallèle les concepts de renseignement entendus comme d'une part l'espionnage et, d'autre part, l'analyse d'informations. Il a fait remarquer que le Coordinateur national du renseignement français n'opérait pas une telle distinction. « Bien que le métier de coordinateur du renseignement soit encore relativement jeune, l'objectif est de travailler de manière intégrée en rassemblant d'une part la collecte d'informations et les processus d'analyse d'autre part », a-t-il expliqué. Il a ajouté que pour ce faire, en France, il existe une formation approfondie des professionnels du renseignement.

Concernant le renseignement à l'échelle européenne, M. Mancini a fait preuve de prudence en affirmant que les autorités nationales devaient en dernier recours avoir le contrôle sur le travail de leurs services de renseignements. Il a ajouté « qu'il y a bien sûr un certain mérite à vouloir coordonner nos efforts et à chercher à mettre en place une pra-



Ange Mancini

tique de travail plus efficace entre les Etats membres ». Il a ensuite nuancé ce propos en soulignant que le Traité de Lisbonne offre peu de marge de manœuvre pour une approche communautaire du partage de renseignements, et laisse la responsabilité aux Etats membres, quoique de manière intergouvernementale.

S'exprimant au nom du EU Satellite Centre (EUSC), son Directeur adjoint M. Pascal Legai a noté que la tâche du Centre est précisément de construire et de partager le renseignement entre les vingt-sept Etats membres. « Généralement, le renseignement est, par nature, un secteur très sensible qui reste entre les mains des Etats membres », a-t-il continué, et qui est au mieux échangé au sein du cadre bilatéral d'un partenariat gagnant-gagnant. Il a ensuite déclaré qu'étant donné que l'EUSC ne possède pas de capteurs satellites et n'a pas d'accès direct à ceux-ci, la difficulté permanente est d'acquiescer les images en temps utile, principalement l'imagerie commerciale, en particulier en cas d'urgence. « C'est pourquoi pour avoir un processus efficace de renseignement, les sources ouvertes se révèlent essentielles, mais ces sources doivent aussi être disponibles, consolidées et validées pour devenir des données utiles et fiables », a-t-il ajouté.

Il a également expliqué que « de grandes quantités de contenu provenant de sources ouvertes ne signifient pas seulement que nous devons assurer un contrôle sur la qualité à travers l'ensemble de la chaîne d'approvisionnement

du renseignement, mais qu'il faut également des analystes hautement entraînés et plus d'interactions entre les services de renseignement nationaux ». A cet égard, M. Legai a ajouté qu'une « autorité



Pascal Legai

« Généralement, le renseignement est, par nature, un secteur très sensible qui reste entre les mains des Etats membres »

- Pascal Legai -

centrale européenne pour les sources ouvertes » pourrait se révéler une solution intéressante. Enfin, au-delà d'un besoin en termes d'équipements, une meilleure capacité d'analyse est requise. Ceci signifie qu'il faut développer les compétences des analystes et acquiescer des outils appropriés pour les aider à faire leur travail. Il a conclu qu'« il s'agit d'une tâche essentielle pour transformer de simples informations en du renseignement pertinent ».

Frederik Schumann, qui fait partie de l'équipe du Projet Virtuoso (FP7 Sécurité), a expliqué que le problème principal pour la communauté du renseignement est qu'il y a bien souvent trop d'informations et qu'il est difficile d'estimer leur fiabilité. Le but du



Frederik Schumann

Projet Virtuoso (dont les travaux s'étendent sur trois ans) est de permettre aux utilisateurs finaux dans le domaine du renseignement de gérer la masse d'information disponible en sources ouvertes. Il a conclu que « les utilisateurs finaux ont généralement des besoins très spécifiques, le projet a donc pour finalité de trouver des solutions qui répondent à ces besoins ».

Pour lancer le débat, M. Dyèvre a demandé aux orateurs s'ils pensaient qu'une académie européenne de formation au renseignement aiderait à atténuer les réticences des services nationaux. M. Ange Mancini a fait remarquer qu'il n'existe pas un réel besoin pour une académie supranationale du renseignement puisque la compétence ultime du renseignement relève des Etats membres. Après avoir confirmé que l'UE est en train d'essayer de créer un réseau entre l'PEUSC et les académies nationales

militaires ou civiles de formation dans le domaine de l'analyse d'images, M. Legai a ajouté que des formations communes amèneraient à plus d'échanges de matériels et d'instructeurs, ce qui serait positif, la formation étant un aspect moins sensible du domaine du renseignement dans le développement d'une culture et de méthodes communes aux vingt-sept Etats membres.

Un participant a ensuite demandé dans quelles mesures les Etats membres avaient peur de partager des informations entre eux. Le Général Sanz Roldán a répondu que « l'UE n'a pas les moyens en l'état actuel des choses de partager tout avec tout le monde », mais elle fait toutefois des progrès au cas-par-cas dans le partage du renseignement. Selon lui, ce qui est nécessaire ce sont des procédures au niveau européen qui assureront la sécurité des informations échangées.

*« L'UE n'a pas les moyens
en l'état actuel des choses
de partager tout avec tout le
monde. »*

- Général Felix Sanz Roldán -

Un participant s'est attardé à la question de savoir qui de l'OTAN ou de l'UE était la meilleure organisation pour partager les renseignements. Le Général Sanz Roldán a rappelé

que l'OTAN est en place depuis cinquante ans et a été indispensable pour l'échange d'informations et de renseignements, même si elle doit continuer à s'adapter et à affiner son modèle de partage de renseignement. Cela étant, il a poursuivi en affirmant que l'OTAN est « de loin un meilleur endroit pour partager l'information que l'UE d'aujourd'hui ». M. Legai a nuancé ce propos en commentant sur l'expérience positive observée pendant la crise libyenne où l'UE s'est montré capable et disposée à partager ses renseignements avec l'OTAN.



Giles Merritt, directeur du SDA, a commencé par faire remarquer combien il était difficile par le passé d'arriver à faire travailler les ONG avec les militaires. Toutefois, selon lui, cette résistance a diminué avec le temps, permettant une coopération accrue entre les militaires et la communauté humanitaire. Après avoir expliqué que l'Europe servait clairement de modèle pour le développement d'institutions dans des zones de conflit, Merritt a ensuite demandé si les expériences en Afghanistan ont sapé la prétention de l'Europe de construire des structures de gouvernance crédibles.

Renforcer la gestion européenne des crises

Parlant depuis une perspective militaire à propos des coopérations civiles-militaires, le Colonel Thomas Toussaint, commandant du Groupement interarmées des « actions civilo-militaires », a noté que l'UE doit surtout s'occuper de conflits anti-insurrectionnels et de stabilisation. « Il faut faire face à de tels

conflits armés pas uniquement avec des moyens militaires », a-t-il poursuivi. Une approche globale incluant des outils civils est aussi nécessaire si l'Europe veut empêcher les populations civiles de rejoindre les insurgés dans les théâtres d'opération ou de s'engager dans des activités criminelles et déstabilisantes.

Le Colonel Toussaint a toutefois remarqué que dans des environnements très dangereux, seuls les militaires étaient capables d'apporter une réponse. Il a ajouté que « le commandant d'une force militaire a des contacts avec les populations locales, les ONG et les organisations internationales. Il utilise des experts



Colonel Thomas Toussaint

pour identifier les projets appropriés ». Il a expliqué que « ces projets doivent bénéficier d'une visibilité locale, inclure les autorités locales, être cohérents avec les programmes des ONG, être durables et ne pas créer de situations de dépendance ». Il a conclu en affirmant que « si l'UE veut renforcer sa ges-



Giles Merritt

tion des crises, elle doit renforcer ses capacités civilo-militaires et améliorer la coordination entre ses Etats membres ».

Le député européen allemande Franziska Katharina Brantner, a mis l'auditoire au défi de pouvoir définir ce qu'on entend par « crise ». Elle a ensuite souligné la nature cyclique des conflits, de nombreux Etats en situation de post-conflit retombant régulièrement dans la violence et a rappelé à l'auditoire que « le grand défi pour le SEAE est de briser ce cycle de conflits ». Mme. Brantner a poursuivi en notant que « pour faire cela, l'Europe a besoin d'une approche holistique de la gestion des crises, appuyée par des institutions, des instruments et des financements efficaces ».

« Elle ne peut pas se reposer uniquement sur des sanctions économiques et politiques dans sa réponse aux crises, et doit se concentrer davantage sur l'anticipation et la prévention des crises », a-t-elle ajouté.

Mme Brantner a poursuivi en signalant que « l'UE n'a pas saisi l'opportunité apportée par le Traité de Lisbonne de fusionner toutes ses capacités de gestion des crises ». Affirmant qu'il existait un manque de planification civile dans le SEAE, la parlementaire a noté que « l'UE est encore loin d'avoir atteint un haut

degré de coordination et de cohérence ». Elle a remis en question le fait que les actions civiles entreprises sous la PSDC soient la meilleure solution alors qu'il existe des alternatives fonctionnant avec la méthode communautaire. Elle a conclu que « maintenir la PSDC en vie à tout prix en entreprenant des missions, n'est pas la seule option ».

Florika Fink-Hooijer, chef de cabinet du Commissaire européen à la Coopération internationale, à l'Aide humanitaire et à la Réponse aux crises a commencé par pointer du doigt la pertinence accrue de l'assistance humanitaire de l'UE dans un monde en plein changement qui voit naître des conflits de



Franziska Katharina Brantner

« L'UE ne peut pas se reposer uniquement sur des sanctions économiques et politiques dans sa réponse aux crises, mais doit se focaliser sur un système d'alerte précoce et sur la prévention de ces crises »

- Franziska Katharina Brantner -

plus forte intensité et plus complexes. Toutefois, les sanctions et l'aide humanitaire ne peuvent pas être maintenues comme des réponses par défaut de l'UE. Elle a de plus mis l'accent sur une approche fondée sur les principes de l'aide humanitaire, qui risque, en ces temps

de disette fiscale, de faire face à des tentatives de politisation. En accord avec le commentaire de Mme. Brantner sur le besoin d'une approche européenne intégrée de la gestion des crises, Mme. Fink-Hooijer a souligné que les contraintes budgétaires actuelles fournissent

de saient d'autant plus de raisons à l'UE d'utiliser ses nombreux instruments de manière intelligente et complémentaire en rassemblant les instruments économiques, de développement et de sécurité.

Prenant la Libye comme exemple,

Mme Fink-Hooijer a par la suite expliqué de quelle manière la coopération entre la Commission et les acteurs civils et militaires peut



fonctionner efficacement. Elle a indiqué que « l’UE y avait été impliquée dans le rapatriement de citoyens de pays tiers, l’évacuation des citoyens européens et la fourniture d’assistance humanitaire aux populations civiles ». « Nous devons maintenant nous concentrer sur la situation très difficile d’un point de vue tant humanitaire que sécuritaire qui prévaut dans la Corne de l’Afrique, qui ne peut pas être laissée à la seule charge de l’assistance humanitaire et de l’aide au développement », a-t-elle conclu.

Agostino Miozzo, directeur général pour la réponse aux crises et pour la coordination opérationnelle du SEAE, a débuté son allocution en défendant de manière enthousiaste les capacités européennes de gestion des crises et s’est élevé contre l’opinion pessimiste de Mme. Brantner, même s’il a reconnu que « l’UE est loin d’être parfaite dans sa réponse aux crises ». Il a poursuivi en précisant que « l’UE a offert une réponse forte à la crise en Haïti, même si nous n’avons pas

reçu beaucoup de couverture médiatique ». Il a ajouté que pour les libyens, voir le drapeau européen flotter au-dessus des bâtiments constitue un signe positif que l’Europe est là pour les aider.

M. Miozzo s’est ensuite attardé sur le chemin qu’il restait à parcourir en exposant les difficultés qui existent pour faire

fonctionner ensemble et en temps réel les diplomates et les services de protection civile. Il a ainsi déclaré : « Il est clair que nous avons besoin d’une réponse plus coordonnée, mais je reste positif quant au fait que plus les services nationaux travailleront ensemble, plus l’UE deviendra efficace et cohérente ». Pour conclure, il a assuré qu’une stratégie politique claire est nécessaire dans chaque situation de crise, et qu’un soutien politique des Etats membres et un soutien moral de la part de la société sont également essentiels.

Lors du débat qui a suivi, Giles Merritt a demandé aux orateurs si plus de financement et de personnel étaient requis pour les opérations de gestion des crises. Mme Brantner tout comme le Colonel Toussaint ont immédiatement répondu que les deux étaient nécessaires en raison de la large gamme de tâches qu’implique la gestion de crise. Le Colonel Toussaint a toutefois reconnu qu’augmenter le budget alloué était pour le moment irréaliste. M. Merritt a poursuivi en demandant si

L'UE était prête à gérer des crises humanitaires vraiment sérieuses. M. Miozzo a répondu en arguant que la Libye avait été un exemple d'une crise très sérieuse, néanmoins d'autres orateurs se sont dits d'accord avec M. Merritt estimant que l'UE serait incorrectement préparée à faire face à certains scénarios de crise.

Considérant le sens du mot « crise » en faisant la distinction entre des crises d'origine naturelle et celles provoquées par l'homme, Stefani Weiss du Bertelsmann Stiftung a précisé que la gestion des crises était généralement d'ordre politique. Mme Fink-Hooijer a répondu en opérant une distinction entre le travail humanitaire de l'UE et sa politique étrangère. « L'assistance humanitaire de l'UE n'est pas un outil politique », a-t-elle proclamé. Mme Brantner a soutenu cette dernière idée en affirmant que le but de l'aide humanitaire était de soulager les souffrances humaines indépendamment de la personne concernée.



Agostino Miozzo

*« Il est clair que nous avons
besoin d'une réponse plus
coordonnée »*

- Agostino Miozzo -

Un participant a émis l'idée que « l'OTAN conduit les opérations militaires tandis que l'UE en est réduite à nettoyer le gâchis après coup », avant de demander comment l'UE pouvait devenir un acteur civilo-militaire efficace. Cette intervention a suscité un débat très intéressant entre M. Miozzo

et Mme Brantner, dans lequel le député a argué que l'UE ne savait pas faire de la reconstruction d'Etat car elle n'arrive pas à rassembler tous ses outils ensemble, tandis

que M. Miozzo a avancé que si l'on se penche sur ce qui se passe sur le terrain, l'UE peut être considérée comme un acteur crédible dans la gestion des crises. La nécessité de consacrer plus de moyens à la prévention de conflit est l'unique terrain sur lequel se sont entendus les deux orateurs.



Olivier Darrason, président de la Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique (CEIS), a ouvert la session plénière de l'après-midi en rappelant à l'auditoire que l'Europe est au milieu d'une crise financière, avec par conséquent des dépenses budgétaires décroissantes et moins d'investissements dans la recherche et le développement. Il a fait remarquer que « la clé sera de réconcilier des budgets en diminution avec les défis techniques et les risques auxquels l'Europe doit faire face ».

Renforcer l'impulsion européenne dans les technologies de la défense et de la sécurité

Lors de son discours d'introduction, Michel Barnier, Commissaire européen au Marché intérieur et aux Services, a signalé qu'« avec la crise financière et sociale, l'Europe est dans un moment crucial, toutefois la défense reste un domaine critique pour la politique de l'Europe ». Il a ajouté qu'« alors qu'on assiste à l'émergence de mouvements populistes et que les décideurs sont testés par les citoyens et les marchés, les difficultés internationales persistent telles que l'environnement, le terrorisme et la pauvreté auxquelles l'Union doit répondre ».



Michel Barnier

« La Libye a démontré que les outils militaires sont encore pertinents pour protéger nos valeurs fondamentales », a poursuivi le Commissaire, « et les Etats membres qui jouissent d'une alliance transatlantique forte et équilibrée doivent travailler ensemble sur la défense ». Il a ensuite fait remarquer que « bien que chaque Etat membre soit libre de définir sa propre politique de défense, le Traité de Lisbonne nous offre une chance de forger une culture géostratégique européenne comme moyen de sauvegarder notre sécurité ».

M. Barnier a continué en se référant au rôle important joué par les transferts intra-UE et les directives sur les marchés publics dans le domaine de la défense et de la sécurité pour ouvrir les marchés nationaux de la défense à la concurrence. Mais il a ajouté que l'établissement d'un nouveau groupe de travail sur la défense qui agira de manière transversale entre les services de la Commission et travaillera étroitement avec l'Agence européenne de défense (AED) et l'industrie de la défense était



Olivier Darrason

tout aussi utile. Il a conclu qu'il était « important de maintenir une base industrielle européenne, tant comme moyen d'assurer que l'industrie européenne de la défense est globalement compétitive que pour assurer notre autonomie stratégique ».

« La Libye a démontré que les outils militaires sont encore pertinents pour protéger nos valeurs fondamentales »

- Michel Barnier -

Claude-France Arnould, chef exécutif de l'Agence européenne de défense (AED), a commencé par avvertir qu'« étant donné les

contraintes budgétaires, l'Europe devra faire mieux dans le domaine de la défense avec moins de ressources ». Elle a fait remarquer que « l'idée que plus de mutualisation et de partage est nécessaire en temps d'épreuves n'est pas encore un réflexe naturel et l'AED pense que la façon de dépasser ce paradoxe est d'améliorer la confiance entre les Etats membres ». Elle a ajouté que c'est à travers ce processus que l'AED est capable d'aider à empêcher la duplication et à identifier les programmes futurs qui réduiront la dépendance technologique de l'Europe vis-à-vis des parties tierces.

Suite aux lacunes qui se sont fait jour durant l'ex-



Claude-France Arnould

périence libyenne, couplées au fait que les Etats-Unis souhaitent que l'Europe s'affirme seule lorsqu'elle répond aux crises, la nécessité d'une coopération plus étroite dans le domaine de la sécurité et de la défense en Europe est claire, a poursuivi Mme Arnould. Elle a ainsi affirmé : « Nous ne serons pas capables d'agir moralement et politiquement sans une Europe crédible ». La réunion du Conseil européen des Affaires étrangères le 30 novembre 2011, ainsi que le « sommet de Chicago » de l'OTAN en mai 2012 seront cruciaux si l'Europe espère aller de l'avant pour faire face aux nombreux défis qui l'attendent dans le domaine de la défense.

Le député européen allemand Christian Ehler a ouvert son allocution en déclarant que « dans dix ans, soit l'on observera une véritable communautarisation des marchés de défense européens, soit celle-ci n'interviendra jamais ». M. Ehler a également affirmé que, dans dix ans, il n'y aura pas d'armée européenne, même s'il est probable qu'une structure permanente civilo-militaire aura été établie. Par ailleurs, il a également souligné qu'en raison du fait que les budgets de la défense et les dépenses de R&D sur le sujet vont décroître pour trouver une solution aux défis que représentent la charge

de la dette et les coûts du système social, « la part de l'Europe dans le marché mondial de la défense va également diminuer ».

Il a ensuite signalé que des budgets de défense en déclin « signifient que plus doit être dépensé dans la recherche pour encourager l'innovation dans l'industrie de la sécurité civile : le Parlement européen négocie actuellement avec l'industrie et la Commission dans ce but ». M. Ehler a de plus confirmé que le Parlement européen était en train d'augmenter le budget pour la recherche et l'innovation dans le

« L'Europe devra faire mieux dans le domaine de la défense avec moins de ressources »

- Claude-France Arnould -

domaine de la sécurité afin qu'il atteigne €1.4 milliards, alors que le montant initial était de €30 millions, et il a souligné qu'approximativement €2.2 milliards seraient dépensés, dans le futur, pour

la recherche dans le domaine de la sécurité civile sous le programme Horizon 2020.

Après avoir réitéré l'engagement de la Commission européenne en faveur d'une Politique étrangère et de sécurité commune, Daniel Calleja-Crespo, vice-directeur général et envoyé spécial pour les PME à la DG Entreprises, a précisé que « la Commission, à travers la directive récemment transposée sur les marchés publics et les transferts des produits liés au domaine de la défense, cherche à sécuriser la base industrielle de l'Europe pour en améliorer la compétitivité et pour soutenir l'accroissement de la coopération transfrontière dans le domaine de la défense ». Il a ajouté que « la Commission travaillait activement à améliorer la recherche dans le domaine de la sécurité et à trouver des synergies dans le

domaine de la défense, mais qu'elle a également besoin d'une volonté politique forte de la part des Etats membres afin de réussir ».

Un signe de l'engagement de la Commission pour renforcer la défense de l'Europe et les technologies de la sécurité, selon M. Calleja-Crespo, peut être trouvé dans le financement de la recherche dans le domaine de la sécurité au niveau européen : « nous travaillons avec l'AED au travers du cadre européen de coopération pour trouver une valeur ajoutée européenne dans des domaines comme les armes CBRN (chimique, biologique, radiologique et nucléaire) et nous voulons construire à partir de cette coopération positive ».

Pierre Schanne, secrétaire général des architectes des systèmes de force à la Direction Générale de l'Armement (DGA) française, a commencé par déclarer que l'investissement technologique, la rationalisation de l'industrie et l'harmonisation de la régulation européenne sont trois piliers essentiels pour maintenir, à long terme, une sécurité d'approvisionnement de l'armement européen. Il a poursuivi en expliquant qu'il « faut investir plus en temps de crise et que l'Europe doit éviter les duplications, se spécialiser dans des secteurs avec une plus grande valeur ajoutée et s'assurer que les directives sont correctement transposées dans tous les Etats membres, et que leur



IGA Pierre Schanne

impact sur le marché est correctement analysé ».

Par la suite, M. Schanne a suggéré que la recherche et le développement devraient être axés sur les technologies où l'Europe fait face à un risque de dépendance, et il a ajouté qu'il serait bon de lancer

« Nous avons besoin de mécanismes similaires dans les domaines de la défense et de la sécurité pour coordonner les exigences de capacité à long terme, les projets d'équipements et les feuilles de route technologiques »

- IGA Pierre Schanne -

des projets ambitieux pour aider à la rationalisation de l'industrie de la défense et pour encourager une plus grande mutualisation et un meilleur partage des ressources. « Alors que de nombreuses synergies dans le domaine civilo-militaire sont attendues », a-t-il conclu, nous avons besoin de mécanismes similaires dans les domaines de la défense et

de la sécurité pour coordonner les exigences de capacité à long terme, les projets d'équipements et les feuilles de route technologiques. Dans chaque branche, l'Europe devrait poursuivre ses efforts de recherche en dépit des coupes budgétaires ».



Mutualisation et partage des capacités : l'heure est venue pour les européens de franchir le pas

Le Général Jean Rannou, directeur de la sécurité et de la défense chez CEIS, a ouvert la session en déclarant que bien que l'idée de la mutualisation et du partage des ressources ne soit pas nouvelle, les coupes dans le budget de la défense ont accru la nécessité

de faire mieux collectivement en Europe. Il a ainsi demandé aux orateurs de quelle manière il était possible de créer un climat favorable à la coopération et comment la question de la souveraineté pouvait être abordée.

Le Brigadier Jon Mullin, directeur « Capacités » de l'PAED, a exposé en premier lieu quelques expériences positives de l'Agence, notamment dans l'encouragement à une collaboration sur des projets



Jean Rannou & Jon Mullin

tels que la formation commune au pilotage d'hélicoptères. D'après lui, « la présidence suédoise de l'UE en 2009 et la réunion des ministres de la défense à Gand en 2010 ont offert une nouvelle impulsion à la mutualisation et au partage ». « L'Europe est en train de franchir le pas », a-t-il ajouté, « mais nous devons être très clairs sur ce que nous voulons » : la mutualisation et le partage doivent se comprendre comme la fourniture de capacités qui comblerent des manques et permettent d'épargner de l'argent, a ajouté Jon Mullin.

Il a noté que « la mutualisation et le partage des ressources ne sont pas encore des réactions naturelles pour plusieurs Etats membres », toutefois l'Europe doit dorénavant épargner son argent et dépenser celui qu'elle a de manière plus efficace. Il a ensuite ajouté qu'un encouragement top-

down est nécessaire pour inciter l'UE à faire plus d'économies. « Il n'existe pas de remède miracle pour parvenir à la mutualisation et au partage des ressources », a-t-il conclu, « seulement une approche pas-à-pas qui démontre les avantages de la

coordination à travers des projets achevés ». « La mutualisation et le partage sont tout à la fois nécessaires et inévitables, car la fragmentation n'est plus abordable. Notre défi est de faire aussi bien que possible ».

« L'Europe est en train de franchir le pas, mais nous devons être très clairs sur ce que nous voulons. »

- Jon Mullin -

Se référant aux découvertes d'une étude récente, Hilmar Linnenkamp, conseiller

à la Sécurité internationale pour le Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, a fait plusieurs recommandations sur la façon d'améliorer la mutualisation et le partage au niveau européen et a exhorté les Etats membres qui y sont enclins à s'engager dans des « projets d'avant-garde ». Au sein de l'initiative du Triangle de Weimar par exemple, M. Linnenkamp a conseillé qu'à court terme une coopération sur des petits projets, comme le développement d'un corps médical au

sein des groupements de combat, devrait pouvoir convaincre les Etats membres de la nécessité de mutualiser et de partager leurs ressources.

Quant au moyen terme, il a suggéré que l'Europe développe collectivement des



François Lureau

véhicules aériens légers sans pilote pour des missions civiles. Ce type de projet devrait être piloté par l'AEED et pourrait également inclure la Commission européenne. Seuls quelques Etats membres auraient la capacité de construire ce type de véhicule. A long terme Hilmar Linnenkamp pense que l'UE devrait se concentrer sur le développement de véhicules armés communs et sur la réduction du nombre actuellement déployé par les Etats membres séparément.

François Lureau, membre du Groupe des sages de l'AEED et ancien directeur de l'Armement national français, a déclaré avec audace qu'il se « préoccupait peu de savoir si la mutualisation et le partage avaient lieu

sous les auspices de l'OTAN ou dans le cadre de l'UE, du moment qu'ils ont lieu ». Il a ajouté que « l'Europe fait face à des pénuries dans les financements de la défense et à des lacunes en matière de capacité, elle doit donc agir rapidement pour mutualiser et partager les capacités déjà existantes ».

Il a poursuivi son intervention en expliquant comment la perte de la souveraineté devrait moins être un problème maintenant étant donné que les coupes budgétaires dans la défense sont en train d'affaiblir la capacité de l'Europe à agir de manière autonome ».

« Il existe cependant de nombreux obstacles qui doivent être dépassés » a-t-il prévenu, notamment les considérations industrielles, les réductions des budgets de défense et le choix des bénéficiaires finaux des biens partagés. Cela étant dit, M. Lureau a conclu que des accords tels que les traités franco-britanniques sont encourageant, même si l'approche « pas-à-pas » ne devrait pas être utilisée comme une excuse, comme cela a été le cas par le passé. Sa présentation s'est ensuite centrée sur deux exemples de mutualisation et de partage : EATC (European Air Transport Command), qui est né d'une initiative de la Belgique, de l'Allemagne, de la France et des Pays-Bas ; SAC (the Strategic Airlift Capability) pour les avions C-17. Ces deux cas présentent deux manières extrêmes de

concevoir la mutualisation et le partage. Au vu de la très grande intégration et indépendance du SAC vis-à-vis des Etats, le SAC est considéré par François Lureau comme l'illustration parfaite du principe de mutualisation, bien qu'il illustre aussi la raison pour laquelle les Etats sont réticents. Ne plus avoir le contrôle direct des capacités, par exemple, dans le cas des avions transporteurs C-17, cela ne signifie-t-il pas une forte réduction de l'autonomie d'action ?

En débutant par un aperçu de la fourniture d'assistance humanitaire par l'UE, Claus Sørensen, directeur général pour l'Aide humanitaire et la Protection civile de la Commission européenne, a brossé un portrait positif de la coopération entre les Etats membres. « Que ce soit la crise au Darfour ou la réponse aux inondations au Pakistan, une bonne coopération peut être observée en termes de fournitures d'avions et d'équipements de télécommunication pour les opérations », a-t-il remarqué. Il a ajouté que « la DG ECHO n'a pas beaucoup d'argent, il nous faut donc utiliser ce que nous avons de manière intelligente, et c'est pour le moment une réussite ».

M. Sørensen a expliqué qu'un partenariat entre les autorités nationales est encouragé à travers des mesures établissant la confiance



et des programmes de formation. C'est ainsi que « nous nous assurons que la voix de chaque service de réponse aux crises soit entendue afin que nous offrions l'assistance la plus appropriée ». Il a souligné à quel point il était plus facile d'identifier les besoins opérationnels et de mobiliser les ressources à travers des plans communs d'évaluation des risques et des modules standardisés de formation. Il a conclu que « lorsque la défense est concernée, cela vaut la peine d'essayer de construire la confiance entre les autorités nationales de défense et entre le personnel sur des projets plus petits ».

En soulignant que le traité de défense franco-britannique a été relativement aisé à signer parce que seuls deux Etats étaient inclus, Sandy Johnston du Ministère britannique de la défense a ouvert la séance des questions en demandant comment la mutualisation et le partage dans un groupe plus large d'Etats plus petits pouvaient être atteints. Après que M. Sørensen a évoqué la nécessité d'assurer une coopération entre



Hilmar Linnenkamp

les vingt-sept Etats membres, M. Lureau a affirmé qu'une approche bilatérale valait la peine d'être poursuivie si la coopération multilatérale échoue, cependant un tel processus devrait être coordonné à travers l'AED et l'OTAN.

Dick Zandee de Clingendael a fait remarquer que certaines initiatives de mutualisation et de partage restent non coordonnées, il a donc demandé ce qui pouvait être entrepris en plus pour pousser structurellement la coopération. Le Brigadier Jon Mullin s'est dit d'accord avec M. Zandee pour dire qu'une méthode structurelle de travail aiderait, mais il a aussi soulevé les mérites d'une approche modulaire qui verrait le développement de projets plus petits et qui pourraient ensuite être étendus à d'autres Etats au moment

propice. M. Linnenkamp a dit le plus grand bien d'une approche par projets, mais uniquement s'ils sont convaincants et produisent de vrais résultats.

Bill Giles, directeur général Europe de BAE Systems, a demandé s'il était possible pour les Etats membres d'externaliser une partie de leurs activités vers l'industrie plutôt que de travailler à travers les

organismes publics. M. Lureau a répondu en affirmant que les bénéfices de l'externalisation seraient qu'au moins on aurait un seul système de soutien. Le brigadier Mullin a convenu que l'industrie a un rôle important à jouer pour diminuer les coûts et rassembler la demande.

Une dernière question s'est focalisée sur le rôle de la clause de solidarité du Traité de Lisbonne et sur le rôle que les petits Etats pourraient jouer s'ils étaient capables de s'appuyer

sur les capacités des Etats membres les plus grands. M. Linnenkamp a signalé que cette approche soulèverait inévitablement la question de la souveraineté. « La souveraineté est un concept que seuls les

grands Etats peuvent s'offrir », a-t-il remarqué de manière désabusée, « et les petits Etats vont probablement devoir conserver leur position de dépendance vis-à-vis des grands Etats ».

La souveraineté est un concept que seuls les grands Etats peuvent se permettre »

- Hilmar Linnenkamp -



La session a été ouverte par Olivier Zajec, directeur adjoint du département d'études stratégiques et de solutions chez CEIS, qui a cité le très grand nombre des cyber-menaces que l'UE doit affronter et a aussi attiré l'attention de l'auditoire sur les difficultés d'apporter une définition claire de ces menaces. « Quels sont les cyber-menaces auxquelles l'Europe doit faire face », a-t-il demandé, « et comment la cyber-sécurité de l'UE s'en sort-elle par rapport à celle des Etats-Unis? ».

Les efforts de l'Europe pour développer sa cyberdéfense

Michael Hange, Président de l'Office fédéral allemand pour la Sécurité de l'information, a reconnu qu'en effet ces menaces sont nombreuses. Il a brièvement exposé son approche pour traiter de telles menaces en insistant sur un fait : « il n'est pas nécessaire de développer un concept pour chaque attaque, ce qu'il faut, c'est développer un concept de référence qui se concentre sur une



Olivier Zajec

stratégie plus large de type bottom-up ». M. Hange a de plus affirmé que le très grand nombre d'utilisateurs d'ordinateurs devait être mobilisé afin qu'une alerte précoce soit automatiquement transposée dans des mesures de cyber-sécurité.

Concernant les efforts que l'Europe doit entreprendre, il a mis l'accent sur le besoin d'éviter la duplication, mais a aussi souligné la nécessité de définir des objectifs et des rôles clairs pour les agences nationales. Il a ajouté qu'il « fallait un système de cyber-sécurité durable au niveau européen, ce qui signifie qu'il faut interconnecter les infrastructures critiques, intensifier les échanges d'informations et définir des priorités et des objectifs clairs ». Par rapport à l'interconnexion des infrastructures, M. Hange a conclu que les administrations nationales, l'industrie et le monde universitaire devraient se lier

pour construire un réseau d'excellence sur la cyber-sécurité.

Le Colonel Marek Pszczolka, directeur de l'Agence pour la communication militaire et la sécurité de l'information du Ministère polonais de la Défense nationale, a exposé brièvement les initiatives légales et opérationnelles de cyber-défense mises en place par la Pologne. Par exemple, le ministère de la Défense

nationale a signé une série de protocoles d'accord avec l'OTAN et le département américain de la Défense (DoD) sur les questions de garantie de l'information et sur la défense du réseau informatique. Le Ministère et Microsoft Corporation développent également ensemble un « programme de coopération sécuritaire ».

L'armée polonaise, a-t-il ajouté, est aussi en train de

« Ce qu'il faut, c'est développer un concept de référence qui se concentre sur une stratégie plus large de type bottom-up »

- Michael Hange -



Michael Hange

développer des capacités de réponse qui bénéficient de centres techniques et de coordination qui leurs sont dédiés.

Il a ensuite observé qu'un cadre légal est requis pour combler des insuffisances dans la cyber-défense des systèmes nationaux et il a suggéré que l'OTAN approfondisse son concept stratégique sur les menaces de sécurité

non traditionnelles. Le Colonel Pszczolka a aussi fait remarquer à quel point il était crucial de coopérer entre tous les organismes responsables pour la cyber défense en Europe au sein de l'OTAN, ce qui permettrait une plus grande synergie des actions techniques, légales et organisationnelles sur le partage d'informations et les cyber-défenses. Il a terminé son intervention en mettant l'accent sur l'importance de la sensibilisation des utilisateurs de réseaux informatiques.

Steven Purser, chef du département technique à l'Agence européenne de « cyber-sécurité » (ENISA), a souligné l'importance du comportement des gens et des technologies préventives. « Nous n'avons pas seulement besoin d'un mécanisme de réponse efficace, mais aussi d'une bonne stratégie de prévention, toutefois une telle stratégie doit nécessai-



Colonel Marek Pszczolka

rement embarquer les citoyens européens à bord car la technologie seule ne pourra faire face à la menace du cyber-crime », a-t-il continué. « La sensibilisation du public est donc un élément clé pour la cyber-sécurité européenne, tout comme l'est le fait que les autorités nationales et l'UE partagent leurs informations et leur expertise ».

M. Purser a applaudi l'initiative de l'UE de mettre sur pied un centre de lutte contre le crime informatique, car il pense qu'un mécanisme qui puisse prévoir les menaces à l'échelle européenne est grandement nécessaire : « Des initiatives telles que celle-là aideront très certainement à aligner et renforcer les politiques nationales et l'UE devrait faire disparaître les barrières entre les communautés juridique, militaire, publique et académique qui ne sont pas habituées à communiquer ». Pour conclure, il a affirmé que les initiatives de l'UE doivent s'inscrire dans une approche globale afin d'assurer une base plus large pour la cyber-sécurité.

Axel Dyèvre, directeur du bureau européen de CEIS, a présenté le projet Eurocybex, qui cherche à améliorer les procédures de coopération entre les agences des Etats membres pour

la cyber-sécurité. M. Dyèvre a observé que la coopération est essentielle, mais qu'avant, il est nécessaire de créer de la confiance, or il a expliqué comment Eurocybex offre aux parte-

est insuffisante et il a ajouté que l'industrie et les autorités opèrent souvent de manière cloisonnée avec peu d'échanges d'informations ou de communication.



Steve Purser

naires l'opportunité d'apprendre et d'échanger de bonnes pratiques sur la cyber-sécurité. Il a ensuite conclu son intervention en accentuant l'importance du rôle que joue le projet dans la mise en place d'une coopération public-privé.

La première question du public, de la part de Dan Solomon, senior partner chez Hawk ISM, s'est concentrée sur l'intercon-

nexion des infrastructures clés en Europe et sur les mesures dissuasives dont l'Europe dispose. M. Hange a répondu que la coopération entre plusieurs branches des infrastructures critiques en ce qui concerne la cyber-sécurité

développer une stratégie qui reconnaisse ces disparités entre les Etats membres ».

M. Zajec s'est interrogé s'il existait un quel-

« La sensibilisation du public est un élément clé pour la cyber-sécurité européenne »

- Steve Purser -

Pour continuer le débat sur les infrastructures critiques, il a été demandé si un seul des pays de l'UE était réellement préparé pour une attaque informatique et s'il existait un plan d'urgence pour parer à une telle éventualité. M. Purser a répondu en expliquant que les niveaux de sophistication des systèmes nationaux de cyber-défense diffèrent grandement. Il a ajouté que « l'Europe a un long chemin à parcourir pour

concevoir un outil de représailles qui pourrait être développé pour décourager les pirates d'attaquer. Le Colonel Pszczolka a répondu en premier en soutenant que la prévention est plus efficace que les représailles et a insisté sur le

fait que la prévention devrait reposer sur la coordination des efforts européens. M. Purser a suggéré qu'étant donné qu'il était difficile d'attribuer les attaques, il était aussi très compliqué de savoir à qui s'appliquent les représailles.



Dressant la liste des leçons qui pouvaient être retenues de la Libye, Giles Merritt, directeur du SDA, a souligné qu'il existait un besoin réel de moyens navals tels que des porte-avions, même si des Etats membres comme la Grande-Bretagne ont fait des coupes dans leur budget naval. Il a fait remarquer que les coupes dans les dépenses de la défense allaient rester une question contentieuse. Les idées de mutualisation et de partage des moyens navals acquerront une importance d'autant plus grande.

Les défis de la sécurité maritime européenne

Beate Gmin-
der, chef d'unité
pour la politique
maritime de la DG

des Affaires maritimes et la pêche, a commencé par rappeler que « 90 % du commerce européen transite par les mers et océans et l'Europe continue à faire face à des menaces contre ses ports et ses côtes ». Un tel environnement de sécurité maritime demande que l'Europe coopère plus étroitement sur la surveillance des côtes, et même si des efforts de la part des garde-côtes nationaux et de leurs services pour travailler ensemble ont été observés, la Commission



Beate Gminder

Européenne ne veut pas d'une garde-côte européenne centralisée.

« Il est vrai que l'UE a besoin de faire des économies et que nous devons agir plus efficacement tout en apprenant les uns des autres », a-t-elle continué. Elle a ensuite insisté sur l'importance d'améliorer la confiance entre les autorités maritimes nationales et a supposé combien cette formation commune pourrait aider à construire cette confiance mutuelle. « Même si la Commission sait qu'il existe un besoin pour une coopération accrue sur le terrain entre les Etats membres, changer la mentalité de nos partenaires et mettre en place une confiance durable peut prendre des années ».

Reprenant l'idée de changer les mentalités, le Brigadier-Général Ilkka Laitinen, directeur exécutif de Frontex, a affirmé que « beaucoup en Europe sont encore habitués à fonctionner en vase clos, très peu osent sortir des sentiers battus ». Il existe de nombreux obstacles techniques et légaux qui empêchent une coopération plus approfondie. Le

vrai problème c'est la coopération et il s'agit du but que Frontex s'est fixé d'atteindre. Une approche fonctionnelle, dans laquelle les différents acteurs conservent leurs propres rôles mais agissent de manière concertée, est nécessaire.

Concernant quelques recommandations sur la manière d'améliorer la coopération sur la sécurité maritime au niveau européen, le Brigadier Général Laitinen a fait sept suggestions pour le futur : une coopération inter-agences améliorée, la lutte contre le crime, l'intégration de la surveillance maritime, le fait de tirer profit des structures existantes comme le réseau européen de patrouilles côtières

« Changer la mentalité de nos partenaires et mettre en place une confiance durable peut prendre des années »

- Beate Gminder -

(EPN), le développement de fonctions de gardes-côtes au niveau européen, l'amélioration du forum des chefs des gardes-côtes européens et la rationalisation des instruments financiers européens. Il a finalement conclu en expliquant

que selon sa propre expérience, les formations et exercices communs étaient une excellente méthode pour stimuler la confiance et la coopération entre les Etats membres.

L'Amiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy, préfet maritime français pour l'Atlantique, croit qu'en effet la Libye a montré l'importance continue de la force maritime, ce qui implique une série de questions pour l'Europe. L'Amiral a ajouté que « l'UE a besoin de donner plus d'orientation politique aux initiatives des Etats membres dans les affaires maritimes, car l'Europe a encore un long chemin à parcourir pour atteindre sa sécurité maritime ».

Il a également considéré qu'une autorité maritime européenne centralisée n'était pas la meilleure solution.

Il a poursuivi en expliquant que « ce dont nous avons besoin en Europe est d'un cadre légal solide qui permette aux différents moyens navals et maritimes de s'engager de manière cohérente ». Il a ainsi appelé de ses vœux à un plus grand partage d'informations sur les affaires maritimes entre les différents Etats membres et a attiré l'attention sur les bénéfices engendrés par le partage des leçons retenues et des meilleures pratiques. Il a clôturé son intervention en affirmant que « n'importe quel cadre qui sera mis en place doit essayer d'améliorer la possibilité pour les marines nationales de participer à la réponse aux crises et doit, de plus, être favorable à la coordination entre l'Europe et l'OTAN ».

Le contre-amiral Stanislaw Zarychta, commandant du Centre polonais d'opérations

maritimes, a brièvement exposé quelle était la situation de la sécurité maritime dans la région baltique et a mentionné le transport de cargaisons dangereuses et le risque de collisions en mer comme représentant l'inquiétude majeure pour la région. « La question n'est pas de savoir si une telle crise arrivera, mais quand celle-ci surviendra », a-t-il affirmé. Par conséquent, il est indispensable, selon lui, de développer une vision fiable de la situation sécuritaire et de concevoir un plan d'action pour faire face aux différents défis. Le Contre-Amiral a ajouté que « la



Amiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy

Pologne est en train d'améliorer la surveillance de la situation maritime, ce qui signifie toutefois que nous devons standardiser nos procédures d'opérations et nous engager dans une mutualisation des informations avec nos partenaires européens ».

« Ce dont nous avons besoin en Europe est un cadre légal solide qui permette aux différents moyens navals et maritimes de s'engager de manière cohérente »

- Amiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy -

S'attardant ensuite sur le contexte européen plus large, il a prévenu que les dépenses de la défense ne devraient pas aboutir à la duplication des actifs maritimes préexistants. « Au lieu d'une duplication des efforts », a conti-

nué le Contre-Amiral, « l'UE a besoin d'assurer l'interopérabilité entre les systèmes nationaux de surveillance ». Il a souligné que les différents systèmes nationaux de surveillance maritime doivent être compatibles et inter-opérables car il s'agit d'un excellent moyen à la fois d'améliorer les systèmes nationaux et d'encourager la coopération entre les Etats membres.

La première question de l'auditoire s'est focalisée sur la capacité de Frontex à assurer les droits fonda-



Amiral Stanislaw Zarychta

mentaux des immigrants. Entrevoiant le ton négatif sous-jacent de cette question, le Directeur de Frontex a rappelé aux membres de l'auditoire que ce sont les Etats membres qui sont responsables du contrôle des frontières, Frontex ne jouant qu'un rôle de facilitateur. Après avoir attiré l'attention des participants sur la stratégie de Frontex concernant les droits fondamentaux, le Brigadier Général Laitinen a ensuite ajouté que « de nombreux problèmes concernant ces droits cités par les ONG n'auraient pas été découverts sans précisément le travail que Frontex effectue pour les détecter ».

M. Merritt a ensuite lancé une idée provocante en proclamant que les horizons navals de l'Europe avaient rétréci. Il a demandé si l'Europe était en train de planifier les bonnes opérations navales et si l'UE devait constituer une flotte de haute mer pour projeter son pouvoir globalement : « la politique commerciale de l'UE est indivisible, donc pourquoi les forces maritimes de l'Europe ne le seraient-elles pas? », a-t-il demandé. L'Amiral de Saint Salvy a

affirmé que l'UE ne devait pas projeter son pouvoir, elle devrait cependant avoir un ensemble clair d'ambitions afin de rationaliser ses dépenses pour acquérir des actifs maritimes. Le Contre Amiral Zarychta a rappelé à l'auditoire qu'une stratégie navale européenne plus ambitieuse appellera à une coopération plus ambitieuse entre les Etats membres, particulièrement dans l'optique de dépenses militaires décroissantes.

Le Capitaine Paolo Fantoni du ministère italien de la Défense a ensuite fait remarquer que l'Europe a besoin d'une stratégie maritime qui soit établie sur un horizon d'au moins vingt ans afin de pouvoir correctement planifier. Le Brigadier Général Laitinen a répliqué qu'il était plus important de progresser au coup par coup, plutôt que d'avoir un horizon temporel, même si il a reconnu que l'Europe aura besoin d'une « vision conjointe de la direction qu'elle veut prendre ».

Le Lieutenant Colonel Martin Cauchi Inglott de

« La question n'est pas de savoir si une telle crise arrivera, mais quand celle-ci surviendra »

- Contre-amiral Stanislaw Zarychta -

la représentation permanente de Malte auprès de l'UE a ensuite remarqué combien des biens tels que les avions militaires pourraient aussi avoir un double usage pour des missions civiles. Le directeur

de l'agence Frontex a confirmé que cela avait déjà été tenté et a convenu qu'il s'agissait d'une idée intéressante qui devrait être explorée pour les moyens de surface et aériens. Mme Gminder s'est dit d'accord avec Ilkka Laitinen et a déclaré qu'il s'agirait d'un bon moyen d'étudier une amélioration de l'efficacité et de réaliser des économies potentielles.



Eurocybex est un exercice de cyber-crise européen qui s'est déroulé le 27 septembre 2011. Il a impliqué des joueurs de 4 Etats-Membres et a été suivi par plus de 30 observateurs issus des Etats Membres et des Institutions Européennes.

Eurocybex is a European cyber crisis exercise which took place the 27th of September 2011. It has involved players from 4 Member States and has been followed by more than 30 observers from Member States and EU Institutions.

Eurocybex est coordonné par la société de conseil CEIS. Le projet est cofinancé par la DG HOME de la Commission Européenne dans le cadre du Programme CIPS, avec le support de l'ENISA.

The project, which is coordinated by CEIS, a research and consultancy firm, is co-financed by the DG HOME from the European Commission under the CIPS programme and supported by ENISA.

Pleinement intégré au programme européen d'exercices de cyber-criSES, Eurocybex s'appuie sur les résultats de l'exercice Cyber Europe 2010.

Fully integrated in the European programme for cyber exercises, Eurocybex builds upon the results of Cyber Europe 2010.

Les objectifs du projet sont l'amélioration et le test des procédures de coopération face au cyber-criSES, au niveau européen

Its objective is to test and improve cooperation at the European level in the event of a cyber crisis.

Coordonné par - Coordinated by



Partenaires - Partners



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Virtuoso

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

Designing the next-generation integration platform for open source information management

VIRTUOSO, an end-user centric project

VIRTUOSO is a European project co-funded by the European Union under its FP7 Programme. The objective of the project is to develop a technical platform for the integration of tools for collection, processing, analysis, visualization and decision-support of open source information.

This middleware platform enables "plug-and-play" functionalities that will improve the ability of open source information professionals to utilize data from across the source and format spectrum in support of the decision-making process. Upon completion of the project, the VIRTUOSO platform will be released as open-source-code software.

As a proof of concept and to highlight the efficiency of the VIRTUOSO platform, a demonstrator with functionalities provided by the consortium partners is being built. This demonstrator is validated using operational scenarios.

The VIRTUOSO project complies with legal regulations and enforces the principles of privacy and data protection. By doing so, the project ensures that the interests of the citizens of the European Union are being respected.



Designing the next-generation integration platform for open source information management

The project aims at providing European end-users with a platform based on an open-source software solution, which is able to integrate advanced information acquisition and processing tools.

The aim of the VIRTUOSO platform is to allow end-users to easily plug-in different software solutions and, by doing so, create their own customized and modular open source information management solution.

Furthermore, the platform will ensure greater interoperability among information and technological providers.

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 or 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:



FURTHER INFORMATION:

VIRTUOSO Project Website: www.virtuoso.eu
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Speakers

Claude-France Arnould



Claude-France Arnould has been the Chief Executive of the European Defence since 17 January, 2011.

Previously, Arnould worked on defence matters in other EU positions. She led the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD) at the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union between 2009 and 2010, and as Director for Defence Issues 2001 to 2009 (in charge of operations, military capabilities, partnerships and chair of the EU Satellite Centre Board).

Earlier in her career (1998-2001), Arnould worked as Director of International and Strategic Affairs at the French National Defence General Secretariat /Prime Minister's office (preparation of national "Council of Defence", CIEMG / interagency process for weapons exports control, armaments and space issues).

Arnould started her career at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Desk Officer at the North America Directorate (1981-1983). She became Desk Officer at the Economic and Financial Affairs Directorate, (1983-1986), responsible for EC trade policy and external relations. After serving in the Private Office of the Minister for European Affairs (dealing with Community issues) in 1987, she became Secretary-General of the French National School for Public Administration (ENA) until 1989.

In 1989, she was appointed Deputy Director of European Community Affairs, (in charge of external relations, trade, budget, institutions, CAP and development). She was then posted in Germany, as First Counsellor of the French Embassy (1994-1998). Arnould has been "Ministre plénipotentiaire" (French Minister of Foreign Affairs) since June 2001.

She graduated from the Ecole normale supérieure, and holds an agrégation in Classics and a degree in art and archaeology. Arnould graduated from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA).

Arnould has been awarded the distinctions of Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, Officier de l'Ordre National du Mérite and Bundesverdienstkreuz Erster Klasse.

Michel Barnier



Michel Barnier has been European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services since February 2010, is the vice president of the European People's Party as well as the political adviser of the French UMP (Union pour un mouvement Populaire) since 2006.

Barnier started his political career in 1973 as a Regional Councillor for the Savoie District in France. Five years later he became the youngest elected Member of the French National Assembly, for Savoie. He subsequently served this region for 17 consecutive years, both at the head of the local executive and at national level as Member of the National Assembly and as Senator. During this period he launched the candidacy and served as co-chairman of the organizing committee of the 1992 Winter Olympic Games in Albertville. He served as Minister of Environment from 1993 to 1995, Minister of European Affairs from 1995 to 1997 and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2004 to 2005.

In 1999 he joined the European Commission headed by Romano Prodi as Commissioner in charge of Regional Policy and the Reform of European Institutions where he drafted the European Constitutional Treaty, and was notably in charge of the development of the constitutional framework for defence cooperation in Europe.

In February 2006 he became Vice President of Mérieux Alliance, a leading global actor in the field of biotechnology and diagnostics, where he was in charge of corporate international development. From 2005 to his nomination to his present position, Barnier was the special advisor to the President of the European Commission. In this capacity, he drafted a report for the European Union on the prospects of coordinated management of civil and humanitarian emergencies. Following Nicolas Sarkozy's victory in the presidential election of June 2007, Barnier was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries. In 2009 he became member of the European Parliament and President of the French delegation of the EPP.

He holds a business degree from the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris.

Jan Borkowski



Jan Borkowski has been Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland since November 2007.

He started his academic career as an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Technology in 1977 and at the Agricultural and Pedagogical Academy in Siedlce until 1980.

In 1990, he was elected for 3 years as Deputy Governor of the Siedlce Province and became member of the Polish Parliament from 1993 to 1997. During this period he co-chaired the Poland-EU Joint Parliamentary Committee; chaired the European Integration Committee; took part in the EU – PHARE project for the Polish Government Foundation for Assistance Programme for Agriculture (FAPA) as a managing Director from January 1995 to May 1996 and was Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1996 to 1997.

From 1999 until now, he has lectured at the University of Commerce and Law and at the Centre for Europe in Warsaw. Prior to his current position, he also served as Advisor to the Marshal of Mazowsze Region until 2003.

Borkowski graduated with a MA in Economics from the Institute of Technology in 1977 and holds a Ph.D in Agriculture Economics from Warsaw Agricultural University.

Franziska Katherina Brantner



Dr. Franziska Brantner was elected to the European Parliament in 2009. She is spokeswoman for foreign affairs of the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament and the Parliament's standing rapporteur for the Instrument for Stability.

She has also been her group's chief negotiator for the establishment of the European External Action Service, the EU's new foreign service. She serves as Member and coordinator on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and as substitute member on the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and on the Committee on Budgets.

Before joining the European Parliament, Brantner worked for the Bertelsmann Foundation consulting on EU foreign policy issues. As a consultant for the

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), she helped design a European action plan for the UN Security Resolution 1325, the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addressed the impact of war on women, and women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

In 2007-08, Brantner co-authored a study for the European Council on Foreign Relations on EU Human Rights Policies at the United Nations and she was a member of the Peace and Security Commission of the German Greens.

Daniel Calleja-Crespo



Daniel Calleja is Deputy Director General of DG Enterprise and Industry, in charge of internal markets for goods, competitiveness and innovation, SMEs and entrepreneurship, international negotiations and tourism. He is the Special Envoy for SMEs.

Calleja was Director for Air Transport at the European Commission from November 2004 to February 2011, in charge of the single European aviation market and its external dimension. He successfully negotiated, on behalf of the EU, the EU-US Open Skies Agreement. He was the Chairman of the Air Safety and the Single Sky Committees and Chairman of the Board of the SESAR Joint Undertaking.

Between 1999 and 2004, he was Head of Cabinet of the Vice-president of the European Commission, Mrs. Loyola de Palacio, responsible for Transport, Energy and relations with the European Parliament. During this period, he participated actively in the elaboration of the EU transport policy, notably in the launching of the Transport White Book, the Single European Sky, the creation of the European Air Safety Agency (EASA) and the Galileo programme.

Between 1995 and 1999, Calleja was the Head of Cabinet for Commissioner Marcelino Oreja, responsible for institutional affairs, and for the Amsterdam Treaty negotiations. In 1995, he was legal adviser in the Cabinet of the President of the European Commission, responsible for Transport, Competition, State Aids and the control of the application of Community Law.

Between 1993 and 1994, he advised the Transport Commissioner in the area of liberalisation of air transport, State aid cases concerning the restructuring of airlines, the first directive on ground handling, the implementation of the third air package and the CRS regulation.

Between 1986 and 1993, he was Member of the Legal Service of the Commission and he represented the institution in numerous cases before the European Court of Justice.

Calleja is the author of several publications. He has lectured in European Law in several universities and institutes of various Member States. He has a degree in Law and in Business Administration from the University of Comillas, Madrid.

Oliver Darrason



Olivier Darrason is Chairman, CEO, and founder of CEIS, a European private company for strategic intelligence, based in Paris, France since its foundation in 1997.

In 2007, Darrason was appointed Chairman of the board for the Institute of Higher National Defence Studies (IHEDN) by the French Prime Minister. He is one of the 19 experts working on future French defence and security perspectives.

Darrason was a member of the French ministerial cabinet in charge of Culture and Communication from 1986 to 1988.

Between 1990 and 1993, Darrason was appointed Managing Director of SVP, a French private company providing management advice to businesses and professionals requiring multidisciplinary service and customized expertise.

Elected to the French National Assembly in 1993 until 1997, Darrason was a member of the Defence Committee, speaker for the Air Force Budget and speaker for the National Assembly select Committee for Military Service Reform.

Darrason holds a master's degree in law and was a high-ranking civil servant, graduating from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) serving as a government representative in Guadeloupe in 1982 and in Provence (Var) from 1983 to 1986.

He holds the French decorations Officier des Arts et des Lettres and Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite.

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer was Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) from 2004 to 2009, and is Co-president of the Security & Defence Agenda (SDA) and lecturer at Leiden University.

Between 1976 and 1986, he was employed in the Foreign Service of the Netherlands. De Hoop Scheffer was elected to the House of Representatives of the States General for the Christian Democratic Alliance (CDA) in June 1986. He became the party's spokesperson on foreign policy as well as asylum and refugee policy and European justice matters, in the House and served on the Permanent Committees on Justice, European Affairs and Defence. From 1989 to 1994 he chaired the Permanent Committee on Development Cooperation.

From 1986 until 1994 de Hoop Scheffer was a member of the Parliamentary Assemblies of the Council of Europe and the Western European Union. In 1990, during the Gulf crisis, he served as WEU Rapporteur on the consequences of the invasion of Kuwait and continuing operations in the Gulf region.

Between 1994 and 1997, he was a member of the North Atlantic Assembly. He served as Deputy Leader of the CDA parliamentary party in the House of Representatives from December 1995 to March 1997, when he was elected leader. In October 2001, he resigned as leader of the parliamentary party and as the political leader of the CDA. From November 2001 to 15 May 2002, he chaired the House Permanent Committee on Foreign Affairs. In July 2002, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first Balkenende government. He was appointed to the same post in the second Balkenende government in May 2003. When the Netherlands held the Chairmanship of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2003, de Hoop Scheffer was the Chairman-in-Office of that organisation.

He was a Member and Deputy Chairman of the Atlantic Commission, and served on the board of the Foundation on Interethnic Relations, a think-tank supporting the work of the former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Max van der Stoep.

He also served on the board of the Leiden Institute of Higher Professional Education. He was a member of the Netherlands Federation of Christian Employers (NCW) committee for the Netherlands Management Cooperation Programme in Eastern Europe, chaired the Netherlands Council for Trade Promotion (NCH),

and served on the advisory board of Amsterdam Nyen-rodde Law School.

Vice Admiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy



Admiral Anne-François de Saint Salvy is the Naval Prefect for the Atlantic in France, responsible for the protection of the maritime environment and for security and police action at sea.

He began his navy career in 1976 at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis. As a low ranking officer he embarked on various navy units, served as Commanding Officer of the EDIC 9083 and served as general navy staff until 1993. From 1994 to 1996 he served as Deputy chief of staff for Operations at the Naval Task Force and went on to command the arming crew of aircraft-carriers Charles de Gaulle and Foch.

As a high ranking officer he served as a Representative with the Commanding officer for the Mediterranean maritime zone and in 2001 became a Navy Advisor in the military cabinet of the Prime Minister and Executive deputy chief of staff for Navy Programmes. From March 2004 he served as Deputy chief of staff for Plans in the Navy General Staff and from 2006 he served as Executive director for the Delegation for strategic affairs in the Ministry of Defence focusing on international defence relations.

He is Commander in the Order of the Légion d'Honneur (exceptionally named officer as former CO of aircraft-carrier Foch in Kosovo), Valeur Militaire Cross with bar and Commander in the Order of Maritime Merit.

He has obtained four degrees during his naval career in engineering at the US naval academy: a degree from the school of anti-submarine warfare, a Degree from the Superior School of Naval Warfare and from the Superior Joint Military Course, Certificate of Atomist and Superior Certificate of Nuclear Security and a Degree from the Centre of Superior Military Studies and from the Institute of Superior Studies for National Defence.

Pierre Defraigne



Pierre Defraigne has served as Executive Director of the Madariaga – College of Europe Foundation since April 2008.

From 1970 to 2005 he was an economist and European civil servant, and retired from the European Commission as Deputy Director-General at DG Trade in March 2005 after having served as Head of Cabinet for Pascal Lamy, European Commissioner for Trade (1999-2002). Previously, he was Director for North-South Relations at DG External Relations (1985-1999), and Head of Cabinet for Etienne Davignon, Vice-President of the European Commission (1977-1983).

He was a Visiting Fellow at Harvard University from 1983-1984, and established the Brussels branch of the French Institute for International Relations (Eur-Ifri), which he managed as Director from 2005 to 2008.

Defraigne holds degrees in political science and economics from the University of Liège. He lectures at the College of Europe (Bruges), SciencesPo Paris, the European College of Parma, the Institute for European Studies at the Catholic University of Louvain and the Free University of Brussels.

Francis Delon



Francis Delon has been Secretary General for Defense and National Security (SGDN) since 2010.

Prior to his current position, he was Secretary General for National Defence from 2004 to 2010.

Before joining SGDN, Delon served as President of Subsection five of the Litigation division of the Council of State from 1997 to 2004. He was at the same time President of the Appeal Committee of the Organisation for Joint Armament Cooperation (OCCAR), and a member of the Board of Directors of the French National Library. Prior to this, he was the Principal chief of staff of the Minister of National education, higher education and research, from 1995 to 1997. He previously served as Director for international affairs and cooperation at the Ministry of National education, from 1994 to 1995, and was its Senior civil servant for defence issues.

From 1988 to 1994, he held the position of First Counsellor and Legal adviser at the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations in New York. Prior to that, he served as an official at the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs since 1986. From 1979 to 1986, he was a member of the Council of State in the Litigation division, and was at the same time representative to the Director for legal affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Delon graduated from the ENA, France's school of Public Management, in 1979. He is a member of the Council of State (Conseil d'état, France's supreme Court in public and administrative law).

He is an officer of the national order of the Legion d'Honneur and Commandeur des Palmes académiques (Academic decoration for services to education).

Axel Dyèvre



Axel Dyèvre has been Director of CEIS's European Office, the Brussels-based subsidiary of European Company for Strategic Intelligence, since 2006. He has managed and contributed to projects in the fields of intelligence, security and defence for the EU institutions and member state ministries (reorganisation, capabilities analysis, technical and operational studies, threat analysis, etc) as well as for the private sector.

He is a co-founder and board member of the European Open Source Intelligence (EUROSINT) Forum, a not-for-profit association dedicated to fostering European cooperation and use of open source intelligence aimed at mitigating threats to peace and security. As a former senior partner with an intelligence software company, he spent ten years defining, managing and controlling projects on behalf of public and private sector organisations. Prior to joining CEIS, he served as an officer in the French Army for seven years.

Christian Ehler



Dr. Christian Ehler has been a Member of the European Parliament since 2004 and is a Member of the Bureau of the German CDU/CSU Group in the European Parliament.

He is a member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE) and a substitute member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET). Since 2009 he is also Chairman of the Delegation for relations with the Korean Peninsula (DKOR).

Ehler is the EP's rapporteur on the Security Research Programme (within the framework of FP7) and the rapporteur of the AFET/SEDE Initiative report on Civilian-military cooperation and the development of

civilian-military capabilities.

He has served as a parliamentary member of the European Security Research Advisory Board and as parliamentary observer of the European Security Research and Innovation Forum.

Jean-Louis Falconi



Ambassador Jean-Louis Falconi has served as the French Representative to the Political and Security Committee of the European Union since November 2009.

After completing military service in the French navy, Falconi served as the European Court of

Justice Agent for the French government in charge of agricultural, fiscal, environmental, audiovisual and intellectual property policies. He was Delegate to the legal commission of the 46th UN General Assembly. From 1991 to 1995, Falconi served in the Division for EU Law and International Economic Law in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1995 to 1997 he held a position in the Europe section in charge of international affairs within the French Ministry of Economy and Finance, where he worked on the preparation for the third stage of Economic and Monetary Union and the introduction of the euro. Falconi was Counsellor to the Director for Monetary Affairs in the Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN) of the European Commission and worked on the introduction of the euro (1997-1999). From 1999 to 2002, he held positions at the Permanent Representation of France to the EU where he worked on regional policy, fisheries, EU overseas countries and territories and outermost regions, the 2000 French presidency of the EU and as Counsellor in charge of relations with the European Parliament (2001-2002). From 2002 to 2009, Falconi held positions within the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first as Deputy Director for EU external relations on issues such as the stabilisation and association process with the Western Balkans and the Barcelona Process (2002-2005); then as Head of the Common Foreign and Security Policy Directorate (2005-2007); and as Counsellor for European Affairs in the Cabinet of Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Bernard Kouchner (2007-2009).

Falconi holds degrees in political science and economics from the Ecole National d'Administration, the Institut d'études politiques de Paris and the Ecole supérieure des sciences économiques et commerciales. He also lectures on politics and European studies at the Ecole National d'Administration and has lectured on EU external relations law at the Law Faculty of Nanterre University.

Florika Fink-Hooijer



Dr. Florika Fink-Hooijer became Head of Cabinet of Commissioner Kristalina Georgieva, EU Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Response in February 2010.

She was previously Head of Unit for Strategic Objective Security and Justice in the Secretariat General responsible for "Strategic Objective Security and External Responsibility" between 2006 and 2010.

Before joining the Secretariat General she was Head of Unit in DG External Relations responsible for Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand. Between 2000 and 2006 she set up the managerial and financial structures inside the Commission for CFSP and crisis management. Her team was responsible inside the Commission for CFSP-project identification/management and the creation and implementation of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (EU certification instrument for trade in rough diamonds). She also acted as Relex Counsellor for the Commission and EC-spokesperson/negotiator for the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme.

Between 1999 and 2000 she was a Member of Cabinet of Frits Bolkestein, Commissioner for Internal Market and Financial Services. She was responsible for the free movement of goods and regulated professions, industrial and intellectual property, e-commerce, data protection, enlargement of the EU, development and humanitarian aid, justice and home affairs, health and consumer protection, budget, financial control and fraud.

From 1995 until 1999 she was a Member of Cabinet of Dr. M. Wulf-Mathies, Commissioner for Regional Policy and Cohesion. Fink-Hooijer was responsible for external political relations with third countries, human rights, CFSP, Common Commercial Policy, OECD, WTO, TACIS, PHARE, Agenda 2000 (enlargement, pre-accession instruments, ISPA) intergovernmental conference, legal and institutional questions, justice and home affairs, infringements, intellectual and commercial property, e-commerce.

Fink-Hooijer started her career in the Commission in 1990 as an Administrator in DG Market, then as an Administrator in the Secretariat General from 1992 until 1995. She is a lawyer by training, specialised in Intellectual Property Rights and Public International Law.

Stefan Gehrold



Stefan Gehrold is Director of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Brussels Office.

Gehrold has served as the Konrad-Adenauer Head of Office in Dakar, Prague, Bratislava and Zagreb. Prior to that he was responsible for accountancy and legal affairs at the CFO Löwenbäcker GmbH in Leipzig. From 1996 to 1999 he worked as a lawyer at Berding & Partners.

Born in 1965 in Germany, Gehrold holds a degree in law from Freiburg University and a PHD from Münster University. He is a member of several groups, including the Prague University of Economics Academic Advisory Board and Vechta University's supervisory board. He is fluent in German, English, French and Croatian.

Beate Gminder



Beate Gminder has been Head of Unit for Maritime Policy in the Mediterranean and Black Sea at the European Commission's DG Maritime Affairs and Fisheries since March 2011. Her unit is in charge of supervising political and technical development of Common Information Sharing Environment (CISE) for better maritime surveillance including pilot projects with 14 Member States; developing a maritime strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Sea; implementing cooperation projects with North African Countries and coordinating maritime policy in the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

She started her career at the Representation of Germany to the European Commission as a Press Officer in 1993. She then joined the Commission working at the Information and Publication Unit in the Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs until 1999.

Gminder assumed the position of spokesperson for Health and Consumer Protection in the Press and Communication Service of the EC before joining the cabinet of Vice President Margot Wallström for 2 years in 2004. In 2006, she served for 1 year as Assistant to Director General for Communication and was transferred to DG Justice, Liberty, Security where she was first assigned as Head of Unit of HR and internal communication and Acting Head of Unit of IT and document management.

Michael Hange



Michael Hange has been the president of the German Federal Office for Information Security (Bundesamt für Sicherheit in der Informationstechnik, BSI) since October 2009.

Since the beginning of his professional career with the German Federal administration in 1977, Hange has been active in the area of IT security. One of his first research focuses was the area of cryptography. With the foundation of the German Federal Office for Information Security (BSI) in 1991, Hange served as Head of the Consulting and Support department, which was established with the goal of improving the federal administration's IT security. The development of the IT-Grundschutz Manual to implement an effective IT security management for government, administration and the private economic sector was a focus of this department. From 1994 to January 2009, Hange served as Vice President of BSI, responsible mainly for matters of functional organization and coordination. In February 2009, he was named Deputy Director for IT at the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Among his tasks were matters of IT security as well as international cooperation.

He is a member of the Advisory Board of the European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA) as well as of the steering committee for information technology of the German Institute for Standardization (DIN).

He holds a MSc in mathematics.

Pascal Legai



Pascal Legai is currently the European Satellite Centre's Deputy Director, an imagery analysis centre, based near Madrid, Spain, providing Geospatial Intelligence and Imagery Intelligence products.

He has been an Intelligence Officer in the French Air Force since 1988. He acquired experience mainly in the fields of geography and imagery. He was appointed as a geographer in the French Air Force Staff in Paris (1994-1999). He was also the Commanding Officer of the French Imagery Intelligence Centre from 2004 to 2006 and the French Air Force Base in Grenoble from 2008 to 2010.

From 1994 to 1999, he was in charge of the geography

section. His main task was to determine the best ways to satisfy digital geographic data needs of the weapon systems (mission planning systems, aircrafts, cruise missiles, military personnel in operation) in close cooperation with the French military forces and main international actors. He also dealt with the future of geographic data for defence needs. As the commanding officer of French imagery intelligence Centre, the aspects of geolocalisation and the reference points for orthorectification were essential.

Legai has a PhD in International Relations, a masters degree in Imagery Processing and an Engineer Diploma in geographic sciences.

Brig. Gen. Ilkka Laitinen



Brigadier General Ilkka Laitinen has been a long-standing figure within the border security departments of Finland, and has contributed extensively to EU border control initiatives. He is currently the Executive Director of the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders.

Obtaining a General Staff Officer's Diploma in 1995, Laitinen's national responsibilities included the leadership of several regional border posts before becoming Co-ordinator of the Frontier Guard Headquarters on Schengen and EU affairs in 1998. Between 2000 and 2002, he was Counsellor for Justice and Home Affairs at the Permanent Representation of Finland to the European Union. His last national appointment was as Deputy Head of Division for the Frontier Guard HQ, a post he occupied until 2005.

Laitinen has sat on numerous EU border relations panels. These posts include Finnish Representative in the Nordic Schengen Steering Group between 1999 and 2003, the Strategic Committee on Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum from 1999 to 2002 and the Common Unit of External Border Practitioners from 2002 to 2005. He was also an advisor to the Belgian EU Presidency on the "EU/Schengen Catalogue" project in 2001.

Other important roles include Co-chairman of the Council Working Party Frontiers, co-managing the joint Austrian, Belgian and Finnish project "Police and Border Security" and acting as Director of the EU Risk Analysis Centre from 2003 to 2005. He has also sat on the Finnish EU sub-committee on Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum on two separate occasions.

Hilmar Linnenkamp



Hilmar Linnenkamp has been Advisor at the Research division on International Security at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik since September 2009.

He started his career as an Assistant Professor at the University of Bonn from 1967 to 1969. He then joined the Planning Division and worked as a Policy Planning Staff at the

German Ministry of Defence until 1987. During that time, he also pursue an academic career as a Resident Fellow at the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York in 1984 where he came back as a lecturer for Conflict Research and International Relations from 1988 to 1991. Soon after he became the Director of the Department of Social Sciences at the Federal Armed Forces Command and General Staff College in Hamburg until 1999 and worked at the NATO Defence College from 1995 to 1996.

In 1999, he took part in the overhaul of the German Armed Forces as Director of the Secretariat of the Commission on the Future of the Bundeswehr. In 2000 he shortly joined the Policy Planning Staff of the MoD before being assigned to the Directorate General of Armaments and International Affairs until 2004. Prior to his current position, he was nominated as Deputy Chief Executive of the European Defence Agency (EDA) until 2007.

Linnenkamp studied Economics, Sociology and Political Sciences at the Bonn University. He holds a MA in Economics and a Ph.D in Sociology.

His current areas of focus are force planning, capability/development for European security and defence policy, armament cooperation, technology policy and European industrial policy.

François Lureau



François Lureau was chief executive of the Délégation Générale pour l'Armement (DGA) from 2004 to 2008. Reporting directly to the French Minister for Defence, he managed a 10 billions € annual investment budget for research, development and acquisition.

He is presently the founder and Chairman of EuroFLConsult a consulting firm specialized in the aerospace and defence sectors.

He joined the DGA in 1968, holding different posi-

tions among which programme director for the Tiger helicopter, jointly developed by France and Germany.

From 1983 to 1990, he held senior executive positions in the avionics and communications sectors. He joined Thomson TRT Defence as Executive Vice President in 1990. He subsequently headed the Communications, Navigation, Identification division and the Defence and Control Systems division at Thomson CSF.

In 1996 he was appointed Managing Director of Thomson CSF Airsys and Chairman of Airsys ATM. From October 1998, he was Chairman and CEO of Thales Avionics (formerly Thomson CSF Sextant), and head of the Avionics Systems Business Group.

From January 2004, Lureau was Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer of Thales Group. He had group wide responsibilities for fostering competitiveness. He was in charge of Defence Business Area of Thales since July 2002. He previously was CEO of the group's Aerospace Business Area for two years.

Lureau, a commissioned French Air force pilot, headed the Equipment Group of GIFAS, the French aerospace industry trade association. He was also a member of the Council of the European Association of Aerospace Industries (AECMA) and headed the Equipment Group, and contributed to the creation of the Advisory Council for Aeronautics Research in Europe (ACARE). He was appointed member of the French commission for the White Paper on the National Defence and Security Policy in August 2007.

An Ingénieur en Chef de l'Armement, he holds degrees from the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole Nationale Supérieure de l'Aéronautique, as well as a master's degree in economics and a Ph.D from Stanford University in California.

Ange Mancini



Ange Mancini has been the Intelligence Coordinator at the Office of the French President since 2011.

He started his career in the French Police force as Deputy police officer in Paris (1966-69), Inspector of Police to the National Anti-Terrorist Division (1969-72) and then to the Central Office for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons (1972-73). He assumed the position of Commissioner of police at the national School of Police until 1975, and shortly after became head of sector at the 2nd Territorial Brigade Paris from 1975 to 1978 and head of section at the Crime Squad in Paris from 1978 to 1982.

He was then assigned Chief Commissioner of the Brigade Prevention of Banditry for a year before becoming the Director of Regional Police Service (SRPJ) of Corsica (1983-85). Following this he took on the function of Divisional Commissioner to the General Directorate of the National Police and created the "Raid" (Research, assistance, intervention, deterrence). After three years as Divisional Commissioner to the Regional Police Service of Versailles from 1990 to 1993, he served as General Controller of the active services of the National Police (1993), Assistant Director of Criminal Affairs and Deputy Director of the central Criminal Investigation (1993-96). He then served as Project Manager at urban Violence Branch of the National Police (1996-97), Chief of police international Technical Cooperation (SCTIP) (1997-1999) and finally as Inspector of active services of the National Police (1998).

In 1999 he became Deputy Chief of Police for Security in Corsica until 2002. He then became Chief of Police of the Guyana region and Guyana (2002-06), the Landes (2006-07), the Martinique region and Martinique (2007-11).

He graduated from the Inspectors School of the City of Paris, and from the National School of Police of Saint-Cyr-aux-Mont-d'Or. He holds a Master in Law.

He has been awarded the distinctions of Commander of the Legion of Honor; the National Order of Merit and the Medal of Honour of the National Police.

Col. Rainer Meyer zum Felde



Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde has been vice president of the German Federal College for Security Studies since August 2011.

Prior to this, he was director of the Security Policy and Strategy Department of the Armed Forces Command and Staff College in Hamburg.

From 2006 to 2009, he worked for the policy planning staff of the German Federal Ministry of Defence as branch head for transatlantic security, NATO and strategic issues. From 2003 to 2006, he served as branch head for policy and strategic concepts and as team leader 'Enhanced Civil-Military Cooperation' at the NATO Supreme Allied Command Transformation (SACT), after having served as deputy chairman of the 'NATO Command Structure Functional Review Team' at NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) from 2002 to 2003.

Prior to that, Col. Meyer zum Felde was branch head for NATO Resources, Capabilities, NATO-PfP and NATO/Russia Relations within the German Military Delegation to the NATO Military Committee and the EU, from 1998 to 2002. From 1996 to 1998, he also worked as section chief Current Operations (IFOR/SFOR) of the political planning and advisory staff in the Federal Ministry of Defence.

He lectured at the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP) and the Armed Forces Command and Staff College and assignments in the German Air Force.

Col. Meyer zum Felde holds an M.A. in educational science from the German Armed Forces University in Munich.

Giles Merritt



Giles Merritt is the Director of the Security & Defence Agenda (SDA), the only Brussels-based security and defence think-tank.

With defence and security now critical issues in Brussels, the SDA raises awareness by anticipating the political agenda and focusing attention on European and transatlantic security and defence policies and challenges. The SDA's Co-Presidents are Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, former Secretary General of NATO, and Javier Solana, former EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

A former Brussels Correspondent of the *Financial Times* (FT), Giles Merritt is a journalist, author and broadcaster who has specialised in the study and analysis of public policy issues since 1978. He was named one of the 30 most influential "Eurostars" by the *Financial Times*; together with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, European Commission President José Manuel Barroso and European Commissioner Neelie Kroes.

Merritt is also head of the SDA's sister think-tank *Friends of Europe*, whose debates and reports cover the whole spectrum of non-defence topics, and Editor-in-Chief of the policy journal *Europe's World*. Published three times a year, *Europe's World* is the only pan-European publication that offers policymakers and opinion-formers across Europe a platform for presenting ideas and forging consensus on key issues. It is published in partnership with a coalition of over 150 think-tanks and universities worldwide, and has a readership of 120,000 senior decision-makers and opinion-formers.

Merritt joined the *Financial Times* in 1968. From 1972 he was successively FT correspondent in Paris, Dublin,

Belfast, and Brussels, until leaving the newspaper in 1983. Since 1984 he has been a columnist for the *International Herald Tribune* (IHT), and his articles on the editorial page of the IHT range widely across EU political and economic issues.

Agostino Miozzo



Dr Agostino Miozzo has been Managing Director for Crisis Response and Operational Coordination at the European External Action Service since December 2010.

Prior to this position, he was Director General of the Voluntary Service and International Relations Office of the Italian

Civil Protection Department from 2002 until 2010. He was responsible for emergency operations carried out abroad. He has coordinated many relief programs in Sri Lanka, following the 2004 Tsunami, in South Sudan, Iran-Bam, Indonesia, Algeria, Morocco, Ossetia-Beslan, Lebanon, and the United States-New Orleans.

He has had extensive experience in the international and humanitarian fields. He worked with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for almost 20 years, beginning as a Volunteer Doctor in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. He was Coordinator of emergency relief operations organized by the General Directorate Development Cooperation from 1991 to 2001. During this period he was involved in emergency relief programmes throughout the world, particularly in the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East, America and Asia.

Miozzo has written and contributed to several scientific publications and gives lectures at many universities and research institutes in Italy and abroad.

In 2008 he was awarded a Gold Merit Medal for his contribution to the Public Health Service.

Brig. Jonathan Mullin



Brigadier Jon Mullin is currently Capabilities Director of the European Defence Agency. He was posted from the British Army to the European Defence Agency as a Temporary Agent in January 2008.

A career officer since 1975, and a Royal Engineer by origin, over the past 21 years he has served in the full range of staff posts focused on delivering mili-

tary capability (Sponsor, User and Provider), interspersed with commanding operational units at squadron and regimental level.

Twice awarded a national level honour, he has significant operational experience ranging from serving in Northern Ireland (1979) in the infantry, the Falklands War (1982) as a Parachute Engineer Troop Commander, and the Balkans (1999) as Commanding Officer 28 Engineer Regiment.

He has also provided UK based direct support to operations in Rwanda, Afghanistan and Iraq in a range of influential appointments. Prior to the European Defence Agency, he was the Assistant Director for Force Protection in the UK MOD Directorate of Joint Capability.

He holds a Natural Sciences degree from Cambridge University and he is a Fellow of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

Col. Marek Pszczolka



Col. Marek Pszczolka has been Director of Military Communication and Information Security Agency at the Ministry of the Polish National Defence since 2010.

He started his military career in 1981 as a specialist of Automated Air Defence System in the Air Defence Forces and soon was promoted as Project Manager of Automated and Information Systems.

In 1990 he joined the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces first as a staff officer than as a senior staff officer at the Information Systems Department. During that time, he was sent as a Military Observer to the UN Mission in Angola (UNAVEM III).

In 1998, he was appointed as a Polish C3 Representative to the Polish Military Representation to NATO until 2003.

He then briefly was appointed Chief of Joint Analysis, Concepts, Requirements and Implementations Division at the Information and Communications Technology Agency of the Ministry of National Defence in Warsaw.

From 2004 to 2006, he joined the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces as Principal Chief Adviser of the Information Technology at the Command, Control and Communications Directorate. He was then assigned as Polish National Expert to the NATO C3 Agency in Brussels until 2009.

Col. Pszczolka previously was Principal Director Adviser at the Information and Telecommunications Department of the Ministry of National Defence until 2010.

He graduated from the Military University of Technology in Warsaw and holds a Masters degree in IT.

working group. He frequently publishes articles in the specialised press and is the author of 'A Practical Guide to Managing Information Security' (Artech House, 2004).

He holds a BSc in Chemistry and a PhD in Chemical Physics.

Beata Pęksa -Krawiec



Ambassador Beata Pęksa-Krawiec has served as Poland's representative to the European Union's Political and Security Committee since 2008.

From 2007 to 2008 Pęksa-Krawiec served as Head of the European Security and Defence Policy Unit at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2002 to 2007, she was Deputy Permanent Representative of Poland to the United Nations in New York. During her time with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pęksa-Krawiec served as Counsellor-Minister and Head of the NATO/Western European Union Division from 1996 to 1999 and as Deputy Director in the Department for Security Policy from 1999 to 2002. Pęksa-Krawiec previously held a position in the National Security Bureau at the Chancellery of the Presidency of the Polish Republic (1991-1996).

Pęksa-Krawiec holds degrees in political science, European studies and journalism from Warsaw University.

Steve Purser



Steve Purser is Head of the Technical Department and is currently responsible for all operational activities of European Network and Information Security Agency.

He started work in 1985 in the area of software development, subsequently progressing to project management and consultancy roles. From 1993 to 2008, he occupied the role of Information Security Manager for a number of companies in the financial sector. He joined ENISA in December 2008 as Head of the Technical Department and is currently responsible for all operational activities of ENISA.

Purser is co-founder of the 'Club de Sécurité des Systèmes Informatiques au Luxembourg' (CLUSSIL) and is currently the ENISA representative on the ISO SC 27

Gen. Jean Rannou



General Jean Rannou is the Director of Security and Defence at CEIS.

He entered the French Air Force Academy in 1963. At the end of his studies and flight training, he received his jet fighter pilot wings at the Tour air base in 1966. He was then posted to the Vosges 2/11 squadron in Bremgarten, Germany, before moving to Toul, where from 1971 to 1973 he was responsible for training young pilots on the Supersabre F100D and F100F. It was during this period that Rannou participated in the first air refuelling exercises over Africa. In 1973, he returned to the Air Force Academy 'Salon de Provence' as an officer, then moved to the Creil air force base in 1975. Serving as second commander of the fighter squadron Seine equipped with the Mirage III, after one year he was promoted to commander, before being appointed Chief of Operations for the 2nd Fighter Squadron of the French Air Force.

In 1980, he took command of the 2nd Squadron in Dijon and two years later, entered the Superior School of Air Warfare in Paris. Rannou worked in the General Planning Office (BPG) of the Air Force Military Staff from 1983 to 1986, where he headed the General Plans Division.

In 1986, he was briefly appointed commander of the air force base at Colmar-Meyenheim, before returning to Paris as Director of the BPG where he oversaw studies, planning, organisation and infrastructure of the Air Force.

In 1990, he was promoted to Brigadier General and headed the Nuclear Forces Division of the French Military Staff. He directed the military cabinet of the Minister of Defence from 1991 to 1994, before being appointed Major General of the Army Military Staff. In September 1995, he was promoted to General and was appointed the same day Chief of the French Air Force. He retired from this position on July 1, 2000.

Rannou is President of the Security Committee of 'Thales Raytheon Systems' Advisory Board, Member of the Franco British Council, Member of the Forum du futur, and of the French National Academy of Air and

Space. He is a member of the administrative boards of the French Institute for Radioprotection and Nuclear Safety (IRSN) and the Aéroclub de France.

He has published numerous articles on strategy and the evolution of military doctrine.

Felix Sanz Roldán



General Felix Sanz Roldán is the Director of the Spanish National Intelligence Centre (CNI).

He entered into the Military Academy in September 1962, as part of the 21st Class. In July 1966 graduated in the Artillery School, with the rank of First Lieutenant, as member of the 254th Artillery Class.

As Lieutenant, following a one year assignment to El AAIUN – then in the province of Spanish Sahara served as executive officer in a Multiple Rocket Launcher Battery and then in a HAWK ADA missile Battery.

After promotion to Captain, in 1973, Sanz Roldán was assigned to the 11th Field Artillery Regiment, where he commanded a M107 self-propelled battery. Following his graduation at the General Staff College, he was assigned to the 12th Armoured Brigade, as assistant operations staff officer, and then to the US-Spanish Joint Combined Planning Staff. He returned to field artillery positions and commanded the Headquarters Battery and the Services Battery of the 11th Self-Propelled Artillery Battalion.

Promoted to Major in 1983, he served for three years as instructor in the Artillery Academy (Field Artillery Branch). In July 1986 was assigned as Assistant Military Attaché to the Embassy of Spain in Washington DC. At the end of his tour in Washington, he was assigned to the Plans and Policy Division of the Army Staff, in Madrid, as staff officer, until his promotion to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in October 1989.

As Lieutenant Colonel he attended the NATO Defence College and commanded the 12th Self Propelled Field Artillery Battalion (Armoured Division). Following that command, he was assigned as the Deputy Commander, Spanish Military Mission to SACEUR. In March 1994 was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

As Colonel he had a second tour in the Plans and Policy Division, Army Staff, in this occasion as Branch Chief (International Relations). In July 1997 he was assigned as Chief of the NATO/UEO Branch, Directorate for Defence Policy.

He was nominated Deputy Director General for Defence Policy (International Affairs) at the Ministry of Defence, following his promotion to the rank of Brigadier General, on the 13 th March, 1998.

On the 8 th June, 2001, he got the rank of Major General, remaining at the same post.

He was nominated Director General for Defence Policy (International Affairs) at the Ministry of Defence, following his promotion to the rank of Lieutenant General, in May 2004 and was appointed Chief of the Defence Staff as well as promoted to the rank of Army General the next month.

On 1 August 2008, he was appointed High Representative for the EU Spanish Presidency for European Defence Policy, directly under the Prime Minister, with the rank of Secretary of State. Between 2004 and 2008, he was a Member of the Council of State. Shortly after he became Secretary of State – Director of the National Intelligence Centre.

IGA Pierre Schanne



Pierre Schanne has been working for the French Délégation Générale pour l'Armement's Force systems architecture department since 2008, where he supervises the definition of future defence systems with the armed forces.

After a one-year specialisation in atomic and molecular physics, he joined a laboratory of the French

National centre for scientific research and obtained a Ph.D in physics in 1990. He then moved to Marburg University, as a post-doctoral fellow in laser physics.

He joined the Délégation générale pour l'armement (DGA) in 1991 as head of a research laboratory on laser sources. In 1995, he shifted to the management of research and technology contracts related to electro-optical warfare.

In 1997, he became head of the Optronics department, responsible for DGA technical policy direction in this field. As such, he supervised the technical support for optronics equipment in armament programs.

He joined the Centre for defence analysis in 2001 as technical director where he took part to discussions on future French battle labs.

In 2004 and 2005, he was auditor of the 41st national session of the Centre des hautes études de l'armement.

Assigned in February 2005 to the Research and technology service, he was head of the Division for innovation support and research programme evaluation, and deputy head of the Mission for scientific research and innovation.

In 2007 and 2008, he was auditor of the 57th session of the Centre des hautes études militaires and of the 60th session of the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale.

He graduated from Ecole Polytechnique, and joined the Armement corps in 1986.

Frederik Schumann



Frederik Schumann is a member of the management team of the VIRTUOSO project and project coordinator of the RECOBIA project.

He studied in Munich, Edinburgh and at the College of Europe in Bruges. After numerous internships, among them at the German embassy in South Africa, the German Parliament, Jerusalem and NATO HQ, he joined CEIS in 2009. With a background as a professional soldier he is today an officer of the Army Reserve. At CEIS, Schumann works predominantly on research projects in the framework of the Framework Programme 2007-2013 (FP7).

Ivan Soltanovskiy



Ivan Soltanovskiy is the Director of European Cooperation at the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

He started his diplomatic career in 1977 and was appointed to several Consulates and Embassies of the USSR in Pakistan and India (Karachi, Calcutta and Deli) until 1993. He then consecutively assumed the positions of Counsellor of the Department of disarmament and security in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Russia to the OSCE in Vienna. Back to Russia in 2000, he was nominated Head of Unit and Deputy Director of the Department of disarmament and security until 2003. That same year, he became Deputy Permanent representative of Russia to NATO before joining the Department of European cooperation at the Ministry as Deputy Director and soon Director in 2011.

Soltanovskiy graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, University of the MFA of Russia in 1977 and holds a Ph.D in History.

Claus Haugaard Sørensen



Claus Haugaard Sørensen has been the Director-General for Humanitarian Aid & Civil Protection in the European Commission since July 2011, responsible for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid & Crisis Response.

Sørensen started his career in academia as a lecturer at Aarhus School of Architecture and the University of Copenhagen. He joined the Danish ministry of Affairs in 1977. From 1981-1984 he worked as First Secretary at the Danish Delegation to OECD, Paris, Chairman of the W.P. of the Trade Committee, representative to the Economic and Development Review Committee, UNCTAD V & VI. In 1985 joined the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the department of International trade and finance. In 1988 he became a Counsellor at the Danish Permanent Representation to the EU before serving as a member of Commissioner Henning Christophersen's Cabinet seeing to International Economic Affairs and in 1995 continued to serve as a Member of Commissioner Anita Gradini's Cabinet in the Fight against fraud; organised crime, corruption, foreign relations and enlargement.

In 1999 he became Head of Unit of International affairs in Nielson's Cabinet and in 2003, Director of Environment, Directorate E – International Affairs. From 2004-2006 he was Head of Cabinet for Commissioner Fischer Boel's focusing on agriculture and rural development, prior to taking up his position as Director General of Communication and his current position in the European Commission in 2011.

Col. Thomas Toussaint



Colonel Thomas Toussaint has been Commander of the Joint "Civ-mil action" taskforce of the French Armed Forces since 2009.

He started his career as Lieutenant Platoon leader and then deputy Captain of the 4th Nuclear Artillery Regiment from 1989 to 1993. He was then promoted to Captain of Regiment Staff Officer and Battery Commander of the 93rd Mountain Artillery Regiment serving in Bosnia with the RRF and IFOR in

1995.

From 1996 to 1999 he served as Captain Selection Officer and Chief of the Staff Platoon at the Selection Centre in Lyon.

In 2002, he joined the Department of Legal Affairs of the French Ministry of Defence and was mainly in charge of bilateral military cooperation with the US, EU HQ of EUROFOR and EUROMARFOR. In 2005 he was assigned to the Department of Legal Affairs of the NATO-EU-FRA multinational HQ until 2009.

Col. Toussaint holds a master of Constitutional and Administrative Law from the University of Paris II and graduated from the Joint Defence College in 2002.

Lt. Gen. Ton Van Osch



Lieutenant-General Ton Van Osch has been the Director General of the EU Military Staff since May 2010.

He joined the Royal Netherlands Military Academy in 1974 and was commissioned as an Artillery Officer in 1978. After various appointments, including battery command and assignments within infantry and cavalry battalions, he attended Staff Course in 1986-87 and subsequently served as a long term planner on the Army Staff. He then attended the US Army Command and General Staff College, followed by a tour as a Lt. Col. and lecturer in strategy at the NL Defense College, during which time he also studied at Leiden University for a Masters degree in Public Administration.

Command of 41 Field Artillery Battalion in Germany, from 1993-95, was followed by a planning post with the Defence Staff and the appointment as Head of Operational Policy and Training on the Army Staff. In 1999, during the Kosovo conflict, Van Osch became Chief Ops (Land) at HQ SFOR and also acted as Chief of the Combined Joint Operations Center during this period. Subsequently, he was appointed Head of Policy Development for the Directorate of Personnel and Organization of the Royal Netherlands Army. Directly after 9/11 he was sent to US Central Command, Tampa, as an operational planner for the conflict in Afghanistan.

In June 2002 Van Osch was promoted to Brigadier-General and took over the post of Director of Operations in the Dutch MoD. During this period, The Netherlands acted as lead nation in MND-SW in Bosnia and lead nation for Task Force Fox in Macedonia and Van Osch deployed the German Netherlands HQ

to Afghanistan. In March 2003 he became the Deputy Chief of Defense Staff for International Planning and Co-operation. In addition he became project manager for the integration of the policy headquarters of the services in the MoD. In December 2004 he took over as Commander of the Royal Military Academy with responsibility for the integration of all officer education of the services within the newly-formed Netherlands Higher Defence Academy, of which he became its first commander.

In June 2007, van Osch was appointed as the Military Representative of The Netherlands to the EU and NATO in Brussels.

Pierre Vimont



Pierre Vimont is the Executive Secretary General of the European External Action Service.

He started his career as a civil servant in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1977 and was appointed Second and First Secretary at the Embassy of France in London. Back to the Ministry in 1981, he assumed the position of Spokesman at the Information and Press Office until 1985 and joined the Institute for East-West Security in New York for a year. In 1986, He served as Second Counselor to the Permanent Representation of France to the European Communities in Brussels and in 1990 was appointed Chief of Staff of the Minister Delegate for European affairs in Paris until 1993. He then became Director for Scientific and Technical Cooperation at the Department for Cultural, Scientific and Technical Relations; Deputy Director General for Cultural, Scientific and Technical Relations and soon became Director for European Cooperation at the Department of European and Economic Affairs from 1997 to 1999.

Before joining the EEAS, he was Permanent Representative of France to the European Union in Brussels from 1999 to 2002, Chief of Staff of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris and Ambassador of France to the United States of America in Washington D.C. from 2007-2010.

Karl von Wogau



Karl von Wogau is Secretary General of the European Security Foundation, president of the European Security Conference in Berlin, founder of the Kangaroo Group and founding member of the Freiburg Institute for Market Economy and Security.

He started his career as a Manager at Sandoz Ltd. in Basel from 1971-1984 and has been a partner in the law firm Friedrich Graf von Westphalen & Partner in Freiburg since 1984.

He was an active member of the European Parliament from 1979-2009. Among others, he was the author of the parliamentary report launching the Internal Market Programme in 1984. He chaired the EP's Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and Industrial Policy from 1994 to 1999. He was the spokesman for the European Parliament at the Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the European Parliament on 2 May 1998 concerning the introduction of the Euro. And he was the chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, substitute Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Member of the Delegation for relations with NATO, Member of the Special Committee of the European Parliament regarding access to sensitive information on European Security and Defence issues from 2004-2009.

Olivier Zajec



Olivier Zajec has been Deputy Director of the Strategic Forecasting Department at the European Company for Strategic Intelligence (CEIS) since 2002. He is a specialist in defence forecasting work and strategic studies.

Before joining CEIS, he served as an Officer in the French Army.

Zajec obtained a Master's degree in History from Paris-IV Sorbonne in 1999 and a Master's from Sciences-Po Paris (IEP) in 2004. He started his Ph.D. studies in 2009 at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE) in history of strategic doctrines.

In 2008, he published his first book "Les secrets de la Géopolitique".

Rear Adm. Stanislaw Zarychta



Rear Admiral Stanislaw Zarychta has been Deputy Commander of the Joint Forces Training Centre in Bydgoszcz, Poland since May 2008.

He attended the Technical College from 1973 till 1978 and started his naval education in the Polish Naval Academy in Gdynia. After graduating from the Naval Academy, he served as Navigator, Operational Officer and Executive Officer aboard several ships between 1983 and 1990.

In 1990 he assumed the position of Commanding Officer of the reconnaissance ship "Hydrograf". In 1996 he carried out duties as Senior Staff Officer in the Reconnaissance and Electronic Warfare Department of the Polish Navy Headquarters in Gdynia, and in 1997 took command of the Reconnaissance Squadron of the 3rd Flotilla.

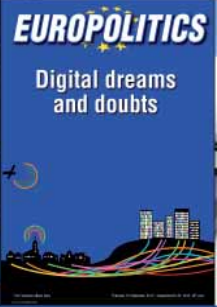
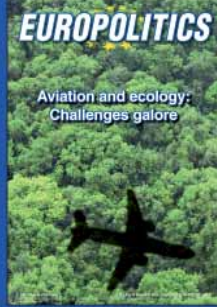
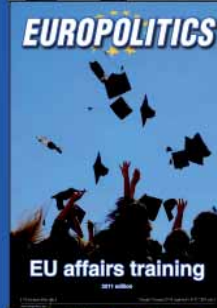
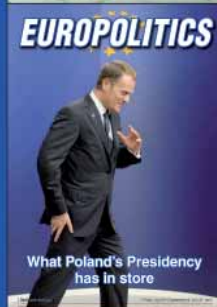
Throughout his service as commander, the squadron ships have been the best navy ships in their class every year. In 2001 his squadron was awarded with the Honour Emblem of the Polish Armed Forces.

From 2002 to 2004 Zarychta was Commander of the 6th Electronic Intelligence Centre in Gdynia. In July 2004 he became the Chief of the Reconnaissance and Electronic Warfare Division in the Polish Navy Headquarters and 3 years later he became Deputy Chief of the Military Intelligence Directorate in the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces.

Zarychta finished a staff course at the Royal Naval Academy in Greenwich (1992), a staff course at the Newport Naval Education and Training Centre (1995) and a special course for officers designated for NATO positions at the Academy of National Defence (1998).

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