

# NEW DEFENCE AGENDA

A Neutral Platform for discussing NATO and EU Defence and Security Policies

President: Eduardo Serra

Patrons: Javier Solana, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Franco Frattini and Benita Ferrero-Waldner

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# TRACKING EUROPEAN SPACE POLICIES

HAVE WE GOT THE CIVIL - MILITARY BALANCE RIGHT?



European Space Agency (ESA)

Moderated by Giles Merritt, Director, New Defence Agenda Rapporteur: John Chapman

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

After a wide-ranging debate on European space policies, it was clear that overall requirements need to be defined and that space was receiving inadequate funding. It was anyone's guess as to which came first. Almost all the panellists called for a clearer requirements definition to be produced on European level and by the member states. The ESA's Gerhard Brauer wanted these to be harmonised, or even better, common.

The EU Satellite Centre's Frank Asbeck offered the EU the possibility of developing "geographic information systems" that would incorporate network-centric techniques and the option of having another force multiplier on board. NDA Director Giles Merritt added that the existence of a coherent space policy could be seen a quick fix to reduce the growing gap between US and European capabilities. The ESA's Michel Praet estimated that this gap in expenditure was in the region of 30:1.

Although the Commission's Luc Tytgat said that a Panel of Experts had been created to define requirements, that did not seem to convince the panellists. That was perhaps because the Panel was seen to have the power to report but not to act. Whatever the final requirements were, everyone wanted the solutions to be based on existing standards and to include the capability to produce interoperable systems.

VEGA's Dave Whittle argued for the production of workable systems rather than perfect ones. He explained that individual, but interoperable, systems could be produced at a fraction of the cost of generic all-purpose ones. General (rtd) Bernard Molard agreed but he wanted R&T to be funded now so that a roadmap could be developed.

Brauer argued there was an urgent need to demonstrate how the utilisation of space could be of benefit to European citizens. VEGA's John Lewis agreed but



commented that the public were already convinced of the need to act in the cases of emergencies. They just had to be shown the actual benefits of space in post-disaster analyses.

Merritt brought the session to a close and looked forward to the NDA putting together a working group that would produce regular updates on the problems, requirements and solutions existing in the area of space policy. It could be of great benefit ... if it led to concrete actions.

NDA-Tracking European Space Policies 17 October 2005



### SESSION I: DEFINING EUROPE'S SPACE-BASED SECURITY NEEDS

Introducing the debate, the New Defence Agenda's Director Giles Merritt said he believed there were good arguments for the creation of a fully-fledged Space Policy Reporting Group. NDA Reporting Groups are established to put forward concrete and specific policy recommendations in the area of

security and defence. The Space Group will examine applications of space programmes for security and defence needs as well as Europe's capability shortfall and future needs. High-level experts will meet in Brussels every four months. The Group's members contribute to Reports that the NDA will be presenting to the appropriate authorities, ranging from EU institutions to NATO, and from member governments to international organisations and the press. Merritt saw this as the best way of achieving sufficient focus on the space arena, where there was no lack of policy but where there was no clear European view.

Merritt introduced the first session focusing on security issues, ranging from counter-terrorism to the role of the European Space Agency. He had concerns about the possibility of achieving consensus in an EU of 25 member states. Perhaps clusters or bilateral sessions might be the way forward. It was time to hear from the panellists.



### Frank Asbeck, Director, EU Satellite Centre, Torrejon

During his remarks, Asbeck showed the tight linkage between space policy and the other areas of the New Defence Agenda's expertise. Just five days earlier, the NDA had hosted a conference on the need for greater European Defence Integration. At that conference, there had been requests for Europe to be more involved in network-centric operations and to improve its capabilities by the use of force multipliers.

Now Asbeck offered a solution. He explained that more and more earth observation satellites were coming on-line and that this would increase the amount of high-quality intelligence data. This would permit to pursue the concept of geospatial intelligence, based on geographic information systems and incorporating imagery intelligence as a precondition for the creation of network-enabled capabilities. This would be obligatory if the EU wanted interoperability with NATO.

Asbeck added that member states had to realise that intelligence imagery was a growing business, one that could be used as a force multiplier to help the EU meet the objectives listed in "A Secure Europe in a Better World".

Asbeck had introduced his remarks by explaining that for the EU to take common actions, it had to make common decisions based on an agreed threat perception, supported by shared intelligence and information gathering. That meant that the European Satellite Centre had a vital role to play as it gathered information for clients such as the Council, the EU Military Staff, the Situation Centre (SITCEN), the European Commission, the member states, UN and NATO.

Arguing that the EU Satellite Centre was providing data that helped in all five of the key areas identified in Solana's security paper (terrorism, WMD proliferation, failed states, regional conflicts, organised crime), Asbeck said the EU had laid down a good foundation in the use of imagery intelligence in support of the CFSP and the "security policy" in general.

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 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm I}$  Asbeck later said that if the US rated 10 for its capabilities, the EU would rate a score of 2.



Asbeck also called on member states to: a) state how much imagery interpretation was required and, b) decide how they would use the combination of national capacity and EU Satellite Centre output to meet security needs.

"If the EU intends to take common actions, it needs to take common decisions based on common threat perceptions."

Frank Asbeck

### Gerhard Brauer, Head of Security Policy, European Space Agency (ESA)

Gerhard Brauer proposed that requirements had to be harmonised or, preferably, common ones developed. Brauer explained ESA's role as a provider of space systems and he wanted a definition of

user requirements that took advantages of the multiple-use character of space systems and emphasised interoperability and standardisation.

Brauer's message was that the cost effectiveness of the European space programme infrastructure depended on the ability to benefit from the multiple use (for space and defence needs) of space systems. He described Europe's "world class space capability", which existed despite budget constraints, that was 90% dependent on civil programmes and commercial markets. Brauer insisted that future capabilities be based on existing tools and infrastructure to avoid duplication.

Given the current budgetary constraints, Brauer also highlighted the need to demonstrate, to decision-makers, how space systems could be beneficial to the security of the EU's citizens. He wanted a forum of suppliers and users to be created and given the task of evaluating



programme options and defining requirements on a Europe-wide scale. The end result should be a list of programmes that would maintain the industry technical base. He stated that the realisation of multiple-use was not just a technical issue and that the forum should also cover items such as data policy and cooperation possibilities.

"Multiple use is not just a technology issue, it is a major political and programmatic challenge"

Gerhard Brauer

## Luc Tytgat, Head of Unit, Space Policy Coordination, DG Industry and Enterprise, European Commission

Luc Tytgat outlined the Commission's position, that of working with the ESA to produce a space programme and policy that contributed to meeting the EU's security requirements. He outlined the following responsibilities:

- Member states: to agree national contributions to the space programme
- The European Commission: to bring together the collective requirements
- The ESA: to identify the technology needs and to ensure that these capabilities can be met by industry

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As for today, Tytgat referred to a "Space and Security Panel of Experts" tasked to define and harmonise the various space requirements, including the internal requirements across the various DGs. Using the GMES programme as an example, Tytgat said this was a "new type of governance" (as outlined in the responsibilities listed above) that aimed to construct European level requirements.

After touching on the on-going "inter-pillar" dialogue, which had the aim of identifying multiple-use benefits, Tytgat acknowledged that the EU was lagging behind other players, and expressed the need to promote:

- resource pooling, vis-à-vis the new satellites coming on-line as mentioned by Brauer
- standards, so that overall data access was improved
- interoperability, as practiced in transport, energy and telecommunications sectors



Tytgat added that the Commission was addressing the resources issue, with the various opportunities for research in FP7, that went beyond space and covered a range of sectors.

### Dave Whittle, Director of Space Strategy, VEGA Group

Dave Whittle argued that space could certainly contribute to European security. However, he warned his audience that it was preferable to develop workable solutions rather than aim to develop a perfect solution.

Whittle could see benefits in both unilateral/bilateral approaches (results achieved in a reasonable timeframe) and in pan-European models (less duplication of facilities and infrastructure). However, he warned that it was more difficult to develop systems that met "joint dual use" requirements. Once requirements were understood, Whittle outlined two approaches that could be taken:

- Develop an all-inclusive system with its attendant complexity and the need for failsafe systems assurance techniques
- Produce individual "lower level" systems that interoperable

He concluded that generic systems could lead to inefficiencies and compromise, and that the individually managed systems could be developed for a fraction of the cost. As an example, Whittle said that Italy, the UK and France had developed individual systems to meet military commitments, which had later been used selectively by NATO to develop "a system of systems".

They had to meet the majority of requirements in a timely manner and that meant the existence of a "solid framework of requirements" to be met via interoperable systems.

Interoperability was the key for Whittle. Systems had to be politically accepted and cost effective.

"Space can make a contribution to European security but we have to accept that a perfect solution is not achievable, we have to get on with something that is workable"



Dave Whittle

### First session - Q&A

### **B**UDGETS

Giles Merritt wanted more information about the budgets for space based security that were, a) available and b) required. All the panellists were in agreement that the required budget could only be defined accurately once requirements were established.

	Available annual budget	Required annual budget
EU Satellite Centre	10.2 million euros	Member states not enthusiastic about even 10% growth.
ESA	N/a	Industry estimate is 2 billion euros.
European Commission	N/a	Depends on priorities.
VEGA Group	N/a (but estimated current spend of I billion euros)	8.3 billion euros (fully-fledged system).

As a follow-up, Merritt asked if this area was financially interesting enough to generate sufficient interest from industry. Whittle was sure that it was, but he identified the need for a "level funding stream" that allowed teams to be created and sustained over a number of years.

The ESA's Michel Praet positioned the US's spending in regard to Europe's. On space in general, Praet said the ratio was 6:1, whereas in the military sector, it was 30:1. His conclusion was that more money was needed, and he reminded the audience that the Commission had previously recommended doubling space expenditure in the period 2004 to 2014.



#### THE ROLE OF SPACE IN SECURITY MATTERS

Merritt also wanted concrete examples of how space could perform a viable role in security. MEP Ernst Guellcher later echoed this question. Brauer said space was a multi-purpose instrument that could develop a global picture that included the detection of terrorist training camps. He also argued

that space could also help to reduce the WMD proliferation and identify terrorist build-up prior to an attack.

Asbeck said space was not a panacea to solve all the security needs. However, he did say that, in the fight against terrorism, satellite imagery had helped in the aftermath of the murder of the Lebanese Prime Minister. It could also help member states to identify security weaknesses at conference sites.



Tytgat added that the Commission wanted to compare the efficiency of space in comparison to other technologies in the fight against terrorism. He was convinced that satellite images were the best tool when intervention was necessary in remote regions and in post-incident scenarios, when normal security monitoring systems might be out of action.

Merritt added that infrastructure protection could be an important area for satellite imagery.

### OWNERSHIP OF THE OUTPUT AND SHARING

Both Merritt and the WEU's Paolo Brito wanted to know who would own the output and what procedures were in place to define information sharing.

Asbeck was clear on this, stating "he who pays, decides". Regardless of whether it was a private company or member states, that was the principle. He added that the EU Satellite Centre was currently only working with commercial imagery providers, while access to non-commercial imagery was in preparation.

Tytgat explained that the EU and the ESA would work together to find a "flexible way to take big decisions". Brauer saw the establishment of programme co-operation as a "challenge" but co-operation models did exist. Member states needed to have the flexibility as to whether they participated in specific programmes, possibly "closed programmes".

### **NETWORK CENTRIC TECHNIQUES**

Defense News' Brooks Tigner asked if any (or all) of the three organisations represented on the panel had been asked to look at developing network-centric battlefield communications.

For Asbeck and Tytgat, this was premature. Brauer agreed, but added that this was another area where requirements had to be defined. It was a complex area that needed a greater degree of understanding.

Col. Yves Blin, Deputy Chief of Space Systems, French Joint Military Staff, Suggested that the ESA AlphaSat programme could be used to implement some capabilities in the network-centric sector. He reminded the audience that this sector also needed ground-based assets as well as space capabilities.



### SESSION 2: BRINGING THE MILITARY SIDE OF EUROPEAN SPACE POLICY INTO LINE

Giles Merritt opened the second session, which aimed to look at the potential use of space for military applications, and, specifically, what Europe could achieve.

### Colonel Yves Blin, Deputy Chief of Space Systems, French Joint Military Staff

Colonel Yves Blin felt that it was time for action, not words. Sensing that European military space

policy was at a crossroads, he wanted high-level political action to answer the numerous outstanding financial and technical questions. To this end, he recommended the creation of a Defence and Security Space Group that would prepare the way for a European military space conference. He also proposed the idea of creating a Security & Defence Space college at a European level, possibly in coordination or not with the International Space University in Strasbourg, France and the European Defence College in order to broaden the space culture among the security and defence community.

Colonel Blin wanted the EU and the member states to give military space a higher profile in the ESDP and decrease the gap in expenditure on civil and military space projects. The military use of space and related space techniques had to be reinforced in all member states.

Colonel Blin did not want to differentiate between the military and security sectors and he saw some cross-fertilisation between the civil

and military worlds. His conclusion was that the military staff had to be innovative in order to gain access to dual capabilities. However, he warned that dual use was not the total answer due to confidentiality requirements. Looking at the CFSP, Colonel Blin wanted it to be seen as an equal partner of the member states.



### Bertrand de Cordoue, Director of Research and Technology Department, European Defence Agency (EDA)

After outlining the EDA's potential capability to support the Council and member states' space policy as an important element to sustain ESDP, Bertrand de Cordoue reminded his audience that the "pocket money" that the Agency had available was far from being sufficient to fund any space

programme or study. He had opened his remarks by confirming that the EDA could play a role in the development of space capacities for crisis management and peacekeeping operations.

Admitting that space was not yet a top priority for the Agency, de Cordoue said it would eventually be able to bring together several elements: end-users, technology, programmes and industry. On the military side, de Cordoue agreed with Colonel Blin that commercial and military capabilities were converging. However, he argued that this was bringing concerns about:

- the ownership of, availability of, and access to, data
- the protection and security of the transmitted data
- the potential use of commercial satellites that could be used against the EU by aggressors if there was insufficient monitoring

He concluded that much more up-front discussion was needed on





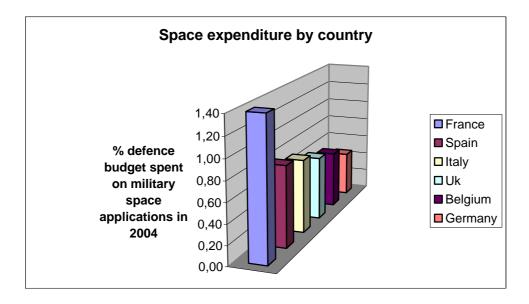
the use of space systems on the military side. Ending on funding issues, de Cordoue insisted that these had to be addressed at a European level and that this should include the possible use of double- or triple-use assets (civil, security, defence).

### General (rtd) Bernard Molard, Chairman of the Security and Defence working Group, EUROSPACE

"Europe is far from reaching its political and military ambitions (in space)"

General (rtd) Bernard Molard

Speaking on behalf of EUROSPACE, General Molard insisted that Europe had to punch its weight in space. Looking at the current expenditures across the EU, General Molard said that if all member states spent the same percentage of their defence budgets on military space applications as France (1,41%), the EU could then develop a coherent policy that could play its part in the ESDP. Molard estimated that this would result in an annual space budget of 2 billion euros.



After listing the many reports and recommendations that had been produced, General Molard said that Europe was still far from reaching its political and military ambitions in space. He gave three main reasons:

- Space is considered as a "nice to have" and when useful applications are identified (telecommunications, observation, etc), there is a tendency to say that either duplication must be avoided or it is better to obtain services free from the US
- "space fanatics" promise too much and this leads to disappointment; even so, General Molard said that space could provide data not available from elsewhere
- space is also seen as an "expensive hobby" by some observers; and with the US spending 20 billion euros on the military aspects of space, they were still "surprised" by 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina

Describing a scenario where emerging powers (Russia, India, China, Brazil, North Korea, etc.) were developing space capabilities, General

Molard said that "information dominance" was the name of the game and that the US was responding

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by developing a "space control" policy. He asked if, given this scenario, Europe should be involved so that it retained an option of "make or buy" when it came to future requirements and applications. Giving a gloomy prognosis, he said that if no decisions were taken, the EU would have no option to but to purchase space services from other nations over whom they had no control.

#### SECOND SESSION - Q&A

Opening up the debate, it appeared to Giles Merritt that there was a chicken and egg situation in regard to the use of space technology. The requirements were ill defined and there was inadequate funding. It was anyone's guess as to the actual cause of the current problems.

#### NO ONE IS LISTENING

Later, Merritt concluded that no one was actually listening to the various actors (space service providers in the member states, industry, the European institutions) and he asked the panellists for their remedy to rectify the situation. Specifically, he wanted to know how the various governments could be woken up from their apparent stupor.

Col. Yves Blin had no simple answer. He argued for more dialogue between the respective players, for common proposals and the definition of a "true space policy". Later, he added that one of the main problems, in France, was to convince the main military players that they needed space systems.

Bertrand de Cordoue said that while it was not the Agency's job to show that more money had to be spent on defence, it was its job to demonstrate that money had to be spent more effectively. He



argued that the Agency was well placed to reveal (to the public) the wastefulness of duplication and the positive aspects of dual-use technology.

General (rtd) Bernard Molard said it was a matter of improving communication. Pointing out that the US had "got it wrong" on the subject of WMDs in Iraq, General Molard argued that Europe needed its own space capabilities in order to allow it to verify such information from other sources.

On a practical note, VEGA's John Lewis referred to the various disasters and terrorist incidents in recent years (Sudan, Pakistan earthquake, Tsunami, Madrid and London bombings), saying that the public had shown its support by making donations to help victims. Lewis suggested that, in post-disaster analyses, it was necessary to show the public how satellite-based services had actually contributed to the crisis management effort. The public support was there and it should be harnessed.

### **INCREASING COSTS OF PROGRAMMES**

The WEU's Paolo Brito quoted figures that showed costs of space programmes growing by 69%, and costs of space procurement growing by 90%. Brito was intrigued to know if governments would accept this kind of increase. Col. Yves Blin did not agree with that data. He said that costs were decreasing, by 30%, and that there was good management of European space programmes.

Use of NATO assets?



As there was no NATO representative present, Chatham House's Olivia Bosch wanted to know if the panel felt that the Alliance could bring something to the party, given the amount of time that they envisaged it would take to develop a viable European space capability.

Bertrand de Cordoue thought that prior to NATO being involved, there were questions of a) interoperability, and b) access to data, to be answered. He did not want to underestimate the political aspects of such cooperation.

General Molard referred to NATO's Satcom programme, stating that as the requirements would be met by a combination of French SYRACUSE series, the Italian SICRAL constellation and the U.K. SKYNET 4/5, there would not be a problem. As for intelligence gathering, he argued that the WEU and EU's innovative efforts were far in advance of NATO's. But there was no free lunch. General Molard did not want ideal systems to be developed but he wanted R&T to be funded now so that a roadmap could be developed.

### EDA - WHAT'S ITS FUTURE IN SPACE?

Defense News' Brooks Tigner had heard Bertrand de Cordoue say that space was not a priority for the Agency. However, he wanted to know more about its future plans. Bertrand de Cordoue concentrated on the potential for military coordination and confirmed that there was a debate in regard to inter-pillar coordination. He argued that the Agency could play a role, if required, to represent the EU's military requirements as capabilities had to be defined from a total Europe perspective.

#### IT'S A WRAP

Giles Merritt concluded an interesting session by saying that perhaps the debate had been over simplified in the past. It was an extremely complex area that had many links with other policy sectors. Merritt could draw some conclusions in regard to the introduction and development of an effective European space policy, that could ensure that with adequate space assets and capabilities:

- Global intelligence could be improved
- Society and its vital infrastructures could be more properly safeguarded
- The (space) area could provide value for money

Merritt reasoned that space offered a way for Europe to close a gap, in its defence posture, that had been building up over the past 25-30 years. He looked forward to the NDA putting together a reporting group in the area of space policy, so that regular snapshots of the problems, requirements and solutions could be delivered.

This initiative, a Space Reporting Group, would forward policy recommendations in the area of security and defence applications of space programmes and capabilities. High-level experts will meet in Brussels every four months. Its members are asked contribute to Reports that the NDA will be presenting to the appropriate authorities, ranging from EU institutions to NATO, and from member governments to international organisations and the press.

The NDA welcomes all interested parties to become involved in the Space Group initiative by contacting the secretariat.

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### Programme:

### SESSION I - DEFINING EUROPE'S SPACE-BASED SECURITY NEEDS

Space-borne technology holds the answers to many of Europe's most pressing security and counter-terrorism problems. But how hard will it be for major players like the European Space Agency, with limited experience of security issues, to spearhead projects ranging from R&D to interoperability? Are multi-state programmes so difficult to structure and manage that more consideration should be given to single state or bi-lateral programmes? Or does Europe need a new model for operating large, complex space systems? Is a pan-European de-centralised data exchange system for security purposes destined to remain a dream? Should different EU states adopt specific leadership roles, say in signals intelligence, earth observation, navigation or communications? What is the outlook for financing Europe's space ambitions?

Moderator: Giles Merritt, Director, New Defence Agenda

### Introductory Speakers:

- Frank Asbeck, Director, EU Satellite Centre, Torrejon
- Gerhard Brauer, Head of Security Policy, European Space Agency (ESA)
- Luc Tytgat, Head of Unit, Space Policy Coordination, DG Industry and Enterprise, European Commission
- Dave Whittle, Director of Space Strategy, VEGA Group

### Session 2 - BRINGING THE MILITARY SIDE OF EUROPEAN SPACE POLICY INTO LINE

Europe lags well behind the United States in its space programmes, and military projects at €Ibn a year lag far behind civilian space budgets worth €5.5bn annually. If anti-terrorism security systems are going to give a major boost to Europe's space effort, how complementary are military and security systems? What room is there for dual-use space technologies and systems? Do military experts, meaning both defence companies as well as armed forces, have the specialised know-how needed to widen the closed world of the space community? What political and industrial mechanisms could European policymakers envisage that would help the space community to widen its horizons on both defence and civil security applications? How inter-operable are Europe's non-space defences with satellite systems. What is the potential for new military applications in space, and what should be Europe's order of priorities?

Moderator: Giles Merritt, Director, New Defence Agenda

### Introductory Speakers:

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- Bertrand de Cordoue, Director of Research and Technology Department, European Defence Agency (EDA)
- General (rtd) Bernard Molard, Chairman of the Security and Defence working Group, EUROSPACE

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### ABOUT THE NEW DEFENCE AGENDA

The New Defence Agenda (NDA) has become established as the only regular Brussels-based forum where political figures and journalists gather to discuss the future of European and transatlantic defence and security policies.

The aim of the NDA is not to replicate more academic research-based projects but to give greater prominence to the complex questions of how EU and NATO policies can complement one another, and how transatlantic challenges such as terrorism and WMD can be met.

Bringing clarity and new ideas to the rapidly-changing defence and security policy scene has been the NDA's aim from its beginning. NDA's activities range from monthly roundtables and international conferences to reports and discussion papers, all of which attract high-level speakers and authors and institutional, governmental and industry support.



One of our prime objectives is to raise the profile of defence and security issues among the Brussels-based international press. To encourage more in-depth coverage of these topics, the NDA holds regular, informal dinners for journalists with high profile decision makers.



### Recent speakers and participants include

Benoît d'Aboville, Ambassador, Permanent Delegation of France to NATO; Gijs de Vries, Counter-terrorism Coordinator, Council of the EU; Richard Falkenrath, Research Fellow, Brookings Institution and former Deputy Homeland Security Advisor to the US President; Franco Frattini, Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission; Bill Giles, Director General, Europe, BAe Systems; Vecdi Gönül, National Defence Minister, Turkey; Scott A. Harris, President, Lockheed Martin International; Patrick Hennessey, Director, DG Enterprise, European Commission; Hilmar Linnenkamp, Deputy Chief Executive, European Defence Agency; Alessandro Minuto Rizzo, Deputy Secretary General, NATO; Sergei Ordzhonikidze, Director General of the United Nations Office in Geneva; Zonghuai Qaio, Vice Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China; George Robertson, Former Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation; Gary Titley, MEP, Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy, European Parliament; Michel Troubetzkoy, Senior Vice President, Director for Relations with European Institutions, EADS; Günter Verheugen, Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry, European Commission; Antonio Vitorino, former Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, European Commission; Karl von Wogau,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Defence and Security, European Parliament,



"[NATO] An Alliance in which Europe and North America are consulting every day on the key security issues before them. Acting together, in the field, to defend our shared security... Because in a dangerous world, business as usual is not an option"

NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, NDA Conference 17 May 2004

"Homeland Security = a concerted, comprehensive and nationwide effort to prevent future terrorist attacks, to protect the most vulnerable targets against future terrorist attacks and to be ready to respond against possible attacks and minimize loss of life and damage if such attacks occur" Richard Falkenrath, former Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Homeland Security Advisor, 17 November 2003 NDA Conference



"The agency should generate ideas and speak the truth to defence ministers." Nick Witney, Chief Executive, European Defence Agency 28 April 2004 NDA Press Dinner



"There is an opportunity for Europe to take advantage of the US's investment by issuing collaborative programmes - paid for to a certain extent by the US taxpayer. The European Defence Agency could foster transatlantic cooperation rather than follow more traditional approaches" Scott Harris, President Continental Europe, Lockheed Martin, 28 April 2004 NDA Press Dinner





### NEW DEFENCE AGENDA

A Neutral Platform for discussing NATO and EU Defence and Security Policies

President: Eduardo Serra

Patrons: Javier Solana, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer Franco Frattini and Benita Ferrero-Waldner

## THE NEW DEFENCE AGENDA WOULD LIKE TO THANK ITS PARTNERS AND MEMBERS FOR THEIR SUPPORT IN MAKING THE NDA A SUCCESS















































































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