

Is Europe getting serious about space and security?



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Rapporteur: John Chapman

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Is Europe getting serious about space and security?

HOW WILL EUROPE USE ITS SPACE CAPABILITIES TO ENHANCE ITS SECURITY?

Session I 12:00-13:30

Europe's neglect of its space industries dates back to the years of the Cold War and nuclear stalemate. France was the exception, but most European governments and corporations saw little point in replicating US technology. Today, the investment outlook is changing rapidly as the threats are different and space-based communications, surveillance and exploration systems bring better security and environmental guarantees. To what extent are Europe's military planners factoring space into future operational capabilities? How best should stakeholders present space as a real military capabilities provider and not just a technological issue? Are EU member states ready to cooperate on space-related capacities that they often still consider part of their sovereignty? What are member states views on the security part of GMES and its role in enhancing security at home? What operating structures will be needed to implement space capabilities for security, and what are the limits of dual-use?

Moderator: **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda

- **Ian Gibson**, Director, Space Technology & Industrial Policy, British National Space Centre (BNSC)
- **Pierre Hougardy**, Director of Capability Department, European Defence Agency (EDA)
- **Bernard Molard**, Chairman of Defence and Security Committee, EUROSPACE

Keynote Speech by GÜNTER VERHEUGEN, EU Commissioner for Industry and Enterprise

SDA Members' Lunch
13:30-14:30

COULD INTEGRATING THE EU NEWCOMERS BE THE KEY TO EUROPEAN SPACE POLICY?

Session II 14:30-16:00

Keynote Speech by JEAN-JACQUES DORDAIN, Director General, European Space Agency (ESA)

How can the EU's many free-riding member states be made to contribute a fair share to a determined catch-up effort? Are the new member states prepared to use space data and space solutions as enabling tools for their policies? Can the European Commission and other stakeholders reduce the "space divide" and develop locally service-orientated activities? What will be the value of GMES and Galileo to new member states and will Europe succeed in getting the new member states to support the European Space Policy?

Moderator: **Giles Merritt**, Director, Security & Defence Agenda

- **Girts Valdis Kristovskis**, Vice-Chairman, Subcommittee on Defence and Security, European Parliament
- **Gilles Maquet**, Senior Vice President, Institutional Relations, ASTRIUM
- **Gerhard Brauer**, Head of the Director General's Security Policy, European Space Agency (ESA)
- **Janusz Zielinski**, Head of the Department of the Planetary Geodesy, Space Research Centre, Polish Academy of Sciences

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

The use of space for security? The European jury is still out!

Commissioner **Günter Verheugen** had no doubt that space is a strategic asset. In the 21st century, information is the key and diplomacy will never provide all of the answers. In terms of facing the many security threats, space could play an increasingly important role. The Commissioner was strongly supported by the European Space Agency's (ESA) Director General **Jean-Jacques Dordain**, who said he could not understand why the link between space and security is still being debated. Elsewhere it is a done deal and for most significant space powers, security is the main driver for space., as highlighted by the new US National Space Policy.

The doubts arrived when Commissioner Verheugen came to his most important question; he wanted to know to what extent the Member States are ready to coordinate defence-related activities. Dordain spoke of all the "concrete stuff" being done at the national level while Eurospace's **Bernard Molard** could see nothing but duplication. A multilateral approach is a must, he said.

Making a pitch on behalf of one of the Member States, the British National Space Centre's Director for Space Technology & Industrial Policy, **Ian Gibson** made a telling point – saying it was appropriate for him to talk from a national perspective because security is a national responsibility. Speaking on behalf of the European Defence Agency (EDA), **Pierre Hougardy** described the EDA's role in space as being limited by what the Member States tasked it to do, but that the Agency is working on a capability-driven approach and that space cuts across all the sectors.

That was the problem: security is seen to be national, while logically the use of space would seem to be a shared resource. Gibson wanted to focus on "small, affordable" projects and the EDA said it is playing a somewhat limited role. In the background – or was it the foreground – NATO is testing its own brand of surveillance. *Defense News*' **Brooks Tigner** asked the second most important question of the day – "what's the new European space policy actually for?" There were answers provided and a general level of agreement between the panellists. SDA Director **Giles Merritt**, however, was not convinced; he saw problems heading towards the Commission and the ESA in the shape of negative public opinion and the Member States' reluctance to get involved.

MEP **Girts Valdis Kristovskis** gave the view of one of the EU's new Member States. Seeing that only 17 Member States are involved in ESA, he was not convinced that sufficient work is being done to attract the newcomers. **Janusz Zielinski**, from the Polish Academy of Sciences added that in some countries like Romania the space activity could count on governmental support, however that is not true across the spectrum of new Member States. **Karel Dobes** of the Czech Space Agency addressed the issue of extensive paperwork – the newcomers do not have the experience to cope with ESA's regulations.

ASTRIUM's **Gilles Maquet** wanted the Commission to initiate what he calls a "Verheugen-Marshall Plan" to help bringing the new Member States into the club.

The Commissioner announced that there would soon be a communication from the Commission – more money would be available - but would that alone be enough?

HOW WILL EUROPE USE ITS SPACE CAPABILITIES TO ENHANCE ITS SECURITY?

The SDA turned its attention once more to outer space at the latest roundtable. That led its Director, **Giles Merritt**, to ask if Europe was getting serious ... at last.

A MEMBER STATE'S POSITION

Ian Gibson, Director of the British National Space Centre



Ian Gibson, British National Space Centre

Ian Gibson chose to outline the UK's position, the MoD's approach and the BNSC's priorities. He indicated that it was appropriate to talk from a national perspective as security is a national responsibility. Gibson indicated that the UK is different from other European countries as it does not regard space as strategic, in the sense of being a means in its own right.

“It's appropriate to talk from a national perspective because security is a national responsibility.”

Ian Gibson

BNSC – facts

- UK is serious about space
- EUR 7 billion per annum
- 17,000 jobs
- Hi-tech and high-added-value
- Key to wealth creation and meeting the Barcelona targets

The use of space has to be based on user requirements, and Gibson stated that these are set by a partnership of several government departments. He insisted that the UK is serious about countering terrorism, fighting organised crime and responding to natural disasters; and that it is making extensive use of commercial satellites alongside its dedicated military systems. Defining the difference, Gibson noted that it is acceptable to achieve “force enhancement” via commercial systems, whereas “force application” necessitates satellites built to military standards.

Turning to the European Space Policy, Gibson accepted that while space was strategic for Europe, it must be requirements-led. He regarded Galileo and GMES as civil systems built to meet civil requirements. Arguing a case for affordable systems, Gibson expressed his disappointment that the ESA is emphasising dual-use technology rather than small satellites. He added that the only Galileo satellite in orbit is a UK-built small satellite.

EDA IN SPACE

Pierre Hougardy, Director of Capability for the European Defence Agency, described the EDA's role in space as being limited by what the Member States tasks it to do. With its staff of less than 100 and with an annual budget amounting to €5 million, there are obvious boundaries. Describing a capability-driven approach – command, inform, engage, protect, deploy and sustain – Hougardy said that space cuts across all these sectors. However, space is a dimension, not a capability.

“The EDA has a limited engagement in space, based on what the Member States want.”

Pierre Hougardy

Adding that the EDA is already involved in space and security activities, Hougardy listed two examples:

- SatCom: studies, improving commercial procurement in the EU, creating a coordinating cell, etc.
- Tactical Imagery Exploitation system (TIES): to ensure easy access to interoperable imagery and geospatial

products to EU actors in the field, using a single point of entry to exploit geospatial intelligence data and as well from Unmanned Air Vehicles, reconnaissance aircraft, etc...



Pierre Hougardy, EDA

“The MoDs want us to look at duplication, but we see fragmentation everywhere.”

Pierre Hougardy

Hougardy described the Agency as a catalyst for innovative approaches in support of ESDP capabilities. The aim is to avoid duplication; One such project was said to be “software-defined radio” (SDR). Overall, the Agency takes a pragmatic approach and aims to make the best use of dual-use technology.

EUROSPACE

Bernard Molard, Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee at EUROSPACE, came quickly to the point – it is time for action. History might show that actions sometimes grew out of crisis situations but Molard saw no need to wait for one.

Insisting that space is a reality, Molard cited GMES and Galileo as positive examples. Showing some frustration that GMES is generally associated with research, he said it would be alive and kicking today if existing assets were used and applications actively developed. Listing several examples where space imagery is exploited (JRC, Satcen, etc.) Molard looked ahead to the pillar issue being resolved and programmes being brought together in order to have greater efficiency of budgets and resources. Such actions were

essential in order to support the EU decision-making processes.

“There are many initiatives at the national level; they have limited operability and result in a waste of time and money.”

Bernard Molard

Focusing on duplication, Molard highlighted the 28 projects¹ where satellites are being built under strictly national budgets. There would obviously be limited interoperability and the result would be a “waste of time and money.” Molard had seen many papers written in the past, all of high quality, that had defined requirements, identified the gaps, recommended solutions. But there were still no decisions!



Bernard Molard, EUROSPACE

Molard saw space as a solution whose time had come. In order to face the growing threats, space offered value for money. If duplication were avoided, then Europe could have a lot more bang for the euro. The European space industry is powerful but others (Brazil, Russia, India, China, Japan, etc.) are investing heavily in order to catch up. Molard wanted a genuine European policy for military space that would achieve:

- An avoidance of duplicated capacities
- A facilitation in delivering capabilities that were still lacking
 - Early-warning systems
 - Space-situational awareness
 - Ballistic-missile defence

¹ These included: Skynet, Cosmos, Satcom, Elios, Spiral, ...

If the EU is equipped with the right tools, they could be used to back decisions taken by the Council. If autonomy is accepted for civil applications (GMES, Galileo), why is it not allowed for security – a matter of life or death? Molard wanted action, it was time to be very serious.

“We need to share a common view of a (security) situation in order to avoid long and difficult discussions at the Council.”

Bernard Molard



Participants listening during Session 1

THE FIRST SESSION DEBATE

THE CASE FOR NATIONAL SYNERGIES

Space News' **Peter B. de Selding** kicked-off the discussion by disagreeing with Molard that the picture is all doom and gloom. That led Molard to clarify his position. He knew that Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium and France are cooperating closely on various projects (ELIOS 2, Cosmos, Skynet, etc.) and they are looking for a common way to access the data from those systems². But he wanted to know if these national initiatives would continue (in the second generation) or if the EU would manage to conserve its energies by getting the nations to work together.

Looking for areas where the UK could cooperate, Gibson suggested that TOPSAT is an example of a small low-cost satellite that demonstrates the possibility of sharing images and operational concepts. He also saw the susceptibility of attacks on the eventual 50-odd satellites (linked to the GMES and Galileo

programmes). This has to be addressed and the UK hopes to participate in a Europe-wide space surveillance system.

Molard returned to the fray by saying that some national programmes are a matter of national pride. He asked why the UK was pressing ahead with the TOPSAT project rather than purchasing commercial images. It is up to governments to take decisions, and matters of sovereignty and intelligence are playing a large part.

THE CASE FOR INSTITUTIONAL SYNERGIES

Molard also acknowledged that no one could oblige nations to cancel their programmes. However, he did want the European bodies (JRC, Satcen, etc.) to work together in order to minimise the gaps between the pillars. That would reduce duplication and the fragmentation of programmes.

DUAL-USE TECHNOLOGIES

Hougardy was happy about the civil use of GMES and Galileo, but he saw no agreement between the Commission and the Member States as to how military issues should be tackled. The Agency had received no feedback from the Ministries of Defence, and worryingly added that there was nothing new there! He saw fragmentation everywhere and action was required.



Thomas Beer from the Council of the EU

The Council's **Thomas Beer** did not agree with Gibson that Galileo and GMES are both civil systems. He argued that GMES still has a potential role in ESDP, and major workshops on the topic were planned. Gibson responded and clarified, saying that GMES was agreed to be a civil system meeting civil requirements. On the subject of dual-use technologies, Gibson said the UK was clear that civil and military requirements could not overlap. Solutions had to be affordable and military requirements might be met by dedicated

² Musis

military systems or by commercially-available systems, or a mixture of the two.

OFFENSIVE COUNTERSPACE

Paolo Brito had seen a reference to “offensive counterspace” in the long-term vision for European capability and asked for clarification. Molard was happy about the ESA’s “space situational awareness” project as an early-warning system was lacking. He wanted a joint operation at low cost. The EDA’s Hougardy gave his full support – that kind of project was necessary if the ESDP was to be supported. It was the starting point.

NATO – ROLE MODEL OR THREAT

Defense News’ **Brooks Tigner** described NATO’s Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) initiative and asked if it undermined the EU’s efforts or if it motivated the EU to do the same in the space field.



Brooks Tigner posing a question during the debate

Molard was a strong supporter of NATO’s initiative project as a role model for the EU. Europe needed its own system to evaluate the risk of the missile threat; it could not rely on the US. However, when it came to countering the threat, any response had to be transatlantic.

THE USE OF MILITARY SPACE – THE BOUNDARIES

Acronym Institute’s **Rebecca Johnson** found herself in agreement with Molard on the need to bring together the European and national programmes. However, she was also interested in where the line should be drawn between the acceptable and unacceptable uses of military space. Molard did not see a Berlin Wall. He simply saw a similarity between the requirements following a natural catastrophe, such as an earthquake, and those during a military operation. Those requirements included maps, cartography, 3D-views, etc. Molard’s view was that the EU should develop the capacity to generate that type of

information, and then it would be up to the Council to decide when it should be used.



Rebecca Johnson from the Acronym Institute

KEYNOTE SPEECH: GÜNTER VERHEUGEN

Vice President, Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry, European Commission



Günter Verheugen, European Commission

Commissioner Verheugen had a dream; a dream that Europe was strong and united enough to maintain and defend the European way of life, culture and traditions in a rapidly-changing world. Unfortunately, he added, it was only a dream. In the 21st century, the Commissioner knew that people would turn to the Europeans at a time of crisis to see what they could do. But Europe was not strong or united enough to offer effective help.

To be a global player, it needs instruments and capacities. Diplomacy is fine but sometimes it is not enough. Europe needs information (“timely and proper”) and the robust means to intervene. That is the link between space

and security; the former could deliver the information that would help to maintain Europe’s values and way of life – giving it the complete range of tools - from diplomacy through to intervention.

The Commissioner was certain that space was a strategic asset. It could dramatically improve Europe’s capability in the field of security.

Globally, Europe supports democracy, human rights and sustainable economic development across the world. It could only play this role efficiently if it has access to space-based information and communication systems. However, Europe’s own security is threatened by events that happened far from the EU’s borders. Verheugen wanted to tackle such problems at their roots.

That implies that the Union needs information, as well as the capacity for autonomous decision-making and action. Listing a number of examples where space-based systems could help (see table), the Commissioner stated the EU requires an adequate level of operational space capabilities and readiness for the conduct of security-related operations.

“If we want to be a global player and use Europe’s soft power, we need the instruments and capacities that we are lacking.”

Günter Verheugen

SPACE-BASED SYSTEMS – TYPICAL USES (MONITORING AND SITUATION AWARENESS)

- Monitoring WMD proliferation through imagery intelligence
- Early detection of the flow of immigrants, making it possible to plan and implement adequate responses
- Border control or maritime surveillance, contributing to the breaking of global terrorist or other criminal networks
- The protection of critical infrastructure – for example pipelines in remote areas
- The observation of environmental changes so the response to emergency situations could be improved:
e.g. the observation of regional water supplies, which could have a major contribution in mitigating the effects of both draughts and floods.
the early estimation of crop yields, made possible by space-based systems, could avert famines, or help manage the global trade of agricultural products.

Verheugen cited the major contribution to be made by the Global Monitoring for Environment and Security (GMES) flagship project. This would start to deliver results in 2008. Results that would utilise, as far as possible, existing national or European capacities. Explaining the scope of the GMES project (providing information relevant to security applications, harmonising needs for technology development, identifying gaps where action was needed in industry and the R&D community, etc.), the Commissioner looked to the development of a specific GMES 'core service' related to security.

THE NEED FOR DUAL-USE

Touching on Galileo, the Commissioner said it would play a role in emergency situations by providing "unrivalled space and time-positioning accuracy throughout the world." As such, satellite communication services are indispensable, and the EU has to play an active role in defining user needs and linking space-based communication services of the present and the future. In addition, the Commissioner wanted to avoid duplication and identify gaps, so close coordination is a must and user communities have to be fully involved.

Describing a complex picture, Commissioner Verheugen reasoned that today's security challenges could not be classified as either purely military or purely civilian. Tasks such as restoring order, peacekeeping, mitigating the after-effects of the conflict phase and developing assistance to prevent the recurrence of a crisis – all these require a "mixture of instruments." The Commissioner had the answer - dual-use capacity and the synergies of civilian and military programmes has to be fully exploited.



COORDINATION ACROSS EUROPE – A PRE-REQUISITE

The most important question is – to what extent are the Member States ready to coordinate defence-related space activity?

Günter Verheugen

That took Verheugen to the key question - to what extent are member states ready to coordinate their defence-related space activities? Returning to his opening theme, the Commissioner concluded that if this did not happen, Europe would not be strong or united enough to meet the inevitable security challenges.

That was the reason why the Commission and ESA are drafting a comprehensive European Space Policy (ESP). It would aim to pool European space resources, fulfil Europe's global role in space and contribute to the achievement of European policy objectives. With Europe being increasingly called to play a leading role in global policies, the Commissioner covered the actions taken to-date by the Commission, to demonstrate how Europe was playing its part (see table).

The Commission's actions in supporting space-related research and activities

- Budget for space activities doubled to EUR 1.4 billion
- Money spent on space-related research increased tenfold
- Focus on demonstrating how such security research could lead to new markets for European technology
- DG Enterprise & Industry had doubled staff working on space and security
- Shared objectives with the European Space Agency

However, there was another problem – how to convince citizens that the EU needed to spend money in this area. He reasoned that it should be easier, given the current security threats, but he was taking nothing for granted.

“It is hard to convince citizens that we need to spend more on defence.”

Günter Verheugen

The draft of the ESP would be available early in 2007. The Commissioner concluded with a message for the Member States and for their citizens: Europe has “to spend more, spend more together and spend better on space in order to fully assume its responsibility as a leading actor in a better and safer world.”

ARTICLE 296 – STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS?

EUROMIL’s Secretary General **Andreas Prüfert** asked to what extent Article 296³ was hindering the Commissioner in his desire to improve coordination and cooperation across the Member States and was he planning to change it. Commissioner Verheugen described Article 296 as a real weakness, as the Member States tended to use it in an “excessive way.”

Adding a second problem, he regretted the need for a license when defence-related equipment was exported from one Member State to another. In order to address those issues, the Commissioner said he was working with Commissioner McCreevy to propose legislation to amend Article 296 and that this had already been presented to the EDA Steering Board, where it had met with no reaction at all.

THE USE OF GALILEO

Answering a question from the floor, the Commissioner said it was a national decision as to whether Galileo could be used for military purposes. This could not be made mandatory and there was no strategy within the Commission to have European military forces use such technology.

³ Under which the defence equipment market is exempt from the rules of the single market.

KEYNOTE SPEECH: JEAN-JACQUES DORDAIN

Director General, European Space Agency



Jacques Dordain, ESA

Jean-Jacques Dordain could not understand why the link between space and security was being debated. Elsewhere in the world, it is a done deal and for most significant space powers, security is the main driver for space, as highlighted by the new US National Space Policy. He did not want Europe to be seen as the only power that could not bridge the gap between security and space.

“Europe is the only area where the question of the use of space linked to security is still debated.”

Jean-Jacques Dordain

Making a rapid tour of the current situation, Dordain drew three conclusions:

- Many documents had been issued at a European level, describing the benefits of the use of space for security purposes in particular on ESDP and space
- However, most of the concrete projects relating to space and security are being completed at a national level; they have demonstrated the security dimension of space and the space dimension of security
- The security requirements of space are well-understood, mapping and imagery, positioning, navigation and search & rescue, and communications. Of these, the majority could be met by GMES and

Galileo, with the major gap being in the field of signal intelligence.

Despite that progress, Dordain concluded that Europe is a long way from having a security and defence policy based on space systems. Here, he gave four reasons:

1. *Space activities are significantly more integrated at European level than those in the domains of defence and security, 66% of Europe's activities in space are said to be developed and operated at a European level which is far from being the case for security and defence.*
 - The difficulty is the need to integrate objectives (in security and defence) – the capabilities could easily be integrated
 - Another reason is the relative youth of the European security and defence sector in comparison to space (a 30-year history)
2. *The differing frameworks of ESA and, for example, the EDA; ESA had been developed completely outside of the defence community framework, although it now had an extremely close relationship with the European community.*
3. *Space systems have to be integrated within a “system of systems” at a European level, designed to meet European requirements: space is not the only tool and must be integrated with non-space systems.* Dordain added that he was trying to introduce more of a “listening” culture within ESA as user requirements were paramount.
4. *The growing number of Member States is causing problems:* The EU is about to expand to 27 Member States and ESA will probably have 22 members within five years, this means that ESA will have to deal with 29 Member States in total. This will make it more difficult to achieve consensus.
 - Greater flexibility has to be organised if progress is to be made. Dordain noted that the key to ESA's success had been the possibility to have optional programmes, authorising contributions from non-ESA Member States.

Dordain said that the new Member States could bring many benefits to the debate.

These included their particular expertise and fresh ideas. Well-established positions had to be changed across all Member States and within ESA, it would be hard but he was ready to start the dialogue. Time and energy are needed to bridge the gap between space and security in Europe.

“The key to the success of ESA is its flexibility to accommodate different geometries.”

Jean-Jacques Dordain

COULD INTEGRATING THE EU NEWCOMERS BE THE KEY TO EUROPEAN SPACE POLICY?

A NEW MEMBER STATE SPEAKS

Girts Valdis Kristovskis, Vice-Chairman of the Defence and Security Subcommittee, and former Minister of Defence for Latvia, European Parliament, gave the view of one of the EU's new Member States. Seeing that only 17 Member States are involved in ESA, Kristovskis was not convinced that sufficient work is being done to attract the newcomers. Perhaps it is a question of trust or of doubts about the newcomers' expertise.



Girts Valdis Kristovskis, European Parliament

Kristovskis had spoken to engineers in Latvia who are involved in European projects and the general consensus was that this had been due to personal contacts. He concluded that there is no clear policy as to how new

Member States could get involved. Expertise does exist (satellite engines, positioning, etc.) and there are even some equipment remaining in Latvia from the days of the Soviet Union. Discussions as to how such equipment should be handled (decommissioned or integrated into the current picture) are ongoing. Kristovskis did not want such know-how to be lost.

Speaking on behalf of all the newcomers, Kristovskis said they are interested in learning more about the capabilities of projects like GMES and Galileo. They are already sending representatives to conferences and meetings. However, there is often a lack of local funds and this should be taken into consideration when it came to questions of the newcomers joining bodies such as ESA.

INDUSTRY CALLS FOR THE COMMISSION TO ACT

Gilles Maquet, Senior Vice President and Director of Institutional Relations for ASTRION, had his own ideas about European space policy. He wanted no less than a “Verheugen-Marshall Plan” (VM – value for money) for the new Member States – one that would give them the appetite for space solutions and lead to the development of local champions.



Gilles Maquet, ASTRION

Maquet insisted that the newcomers are vital members of Europe's space community, because they are pure Europeans. It is that simple. The fact that they are low-cost manufacturing sites would be important when it came to locating critical technologies in the future, but at this time, the newcomers are part of the team.

“Regarding our policy towards new Member States, we don't have the right collective ambition at the European level – we have no political coherence.”

Gilles Maquet

They are already deciding on European space policy, as EU members, and some are involved in EUMETSAT, Eutelsat and other bodies. Maquet listed the initiatives taken by EADS Space to involve the newcomers in space-related activities, but he insisted that much more needed to be done.

The new Member States are in an ideal position to benefit from specific downstream services, such as maritime security, border control, geoinformation, telecommunication in remote areas through Vsat and teleducation. Industry could help to create local competences to operate such services, so that centres of excellence could be developed, however, this would require a political impetus. Maquet's answer was the Verheugen-Marshall Plan for space – he argued that the money is there (structural funds, FP7, regional funds, international cooperation, etc.) and there has to be a clear signal from the Commission. It has to demonstrate that it has the right level of political ambition. These new Member States are like a test case for the European Space Policy.

GALILEO – IN GOOD SHAPE OR NOT?

Janusz Zielinski, Head of the Department of the Planetary Geodesy in the Space Research Centre of the Polish Academy of Sciences, had experience working on the Galileo project, where he had coordinated Poland's activities. He mentioned that he was speaking as individual expert and did not represent the Government nor other agency.



Janusz Zielinski, the Polish Academy of Sciences

Zielinski expressed his high appreciation of the role played in Europe by ESA, and he wanted, above all, to ensure that its unique identity is maintained. With the need to bring together various European initiatives accepted, Zielinski warned against a possibility that ESA would lose some of its attributes.

In some countries like Romania the space activity could count on governmental support, however that is not true across the spectrum of new Member States. Poland, for example, would have problems due to its “economical doctrines”. In general, it is recognized that space brings technology development, and citizens as well as decision-makers accept that space is good for a nation's industry and that is good for public opinion.

“Space-related activity is not just a business; it is a matter of political integration.”

Janusz Zielinski

As for Galileo, Zielinski was concerned that progress is not as predicted, with EGNOS – said to be the first stage - not yet operational. He was particularly disturbed that the future of the project and ESA's participation are both unclear.

Concerning the application of European Space systems for defence, the military representatives in Poland have little interest in the Galileo project as it did not have the NATO branding. There are also concerns about ESA's links with Russia and China. These problems must be overcome because the dual use of Galileo is logical and important. On the civil side, the picture is brighter as the staff is more used to working on European projects. GMES and Galileo are met with great interest. Overall, Zielinski said

that from European perspective space should not be seen as a matter of economics only but should rather be seen as a cultural and historical challenge and a powerful tool for integration.

THE SECOND SESSION DEBATE

ESA AND AN OPEN SPACE

Gerhard Brauer, Head of the Director General's Security Policy Office at European Space Agency, returned to Dordain's point that due to the increasing number of Member States, ESA has to retain its flexibility (both mandatory and optional programmes) in order to maintain progress. Newcomer states are, of course, welcomed, as the addition of new users is always a positive development.



Gerhard Brauer, ESA

“ESA can't just execute programmes for itself, it needs a policy to develop the European space effort.”

Gerhard Brauer

Answering a point made by both Kristovskis and Zielinski, Brauer explained that money is not always a pre-condition for entry to ESA. In addition, ESA takes pride in its global nature and its links with not only the US and Canada, but also Russia, India, and China for example. Space is important in the field of science and technology, and it has to be “kept open” for the whole of mankind.

The Czech Space Office's **Karel Dobes**, addressed the issue of extensive paperwork – the newcomers do not have the experience to cope with ESA's regulations (documentation, working methods, etc.) and subsequently they are not in the club. Brauer saw that as a communication and newcomer's difficulty. The documentation is voluminous but it is essential to bring several partners together. Effort is necessary, but it would be worthwhile.

Maquet argued that ESA regulations are proven and essential. Perhaps slight modifications could be made, but they have to stay in place. As for the newcomers, they have to work on the user side (development of software etc.) as well as on the offer/industry side so that the necessary expertise could be developed.

THE VERHEUGEN-MARSHALL PLAN

Brooks Tigner wanted to know more about the reasons why the Verheugen-Marshall Plan was being suggested and what sort of funding would be necessary. Maquet described it as a political initiative to show that space is indeed strategic. It needs a “dedicated budget line”, as described earlier, and it would aim to provide free data and services to the new Member States, so they could implement policies and reap the benefits of space technology.

THE EUROPEAN SPACE POLICY – WHAT'S IT FOR?

Tigner was also keen to understand the rationale behind the European Space Policy. Was it to justify additional spending or to strengthen coordination and decision-making? If it is the latter, then who would take decisions?

Brauer acknowledged that although there had been progress in Europe, ESA has to have the necessary assets and infrastructure to maintain that progress, to support industrial competitiveness, to ensure access to data and to enhance its work in the areas of science and technology. ESA cannot just execute programmes for itself, it has to have a policy that will help the development of a true European space effort.

Zielinski suggested that the European Space Policy be formulated as one of the EU's Treaties. As such, it would set out the goals and roles of the Commission and ESA. In addition, it would have to show the signed commitments of the Member States.

On the question of who would be taking decisions, the panel was silent.

“There is a risk that the European Space Policy is seen as ‘Europe for Europe’s sake’.

Giles Merritt

Merritt closed the session by adding that space experts are running the risk of developing a policy that is seen to be more of “Europe for Europe’s sake”. That was dangerous given the current climate, where public opinion is rather mistrustful of the European project. But it is not just a matter of convincing the public, as the Member States are also extremely reluctant to cooperate. The spectre of sovereignty is hovering in the wings and would soon be centre-stage - perhaps to come forward when someone is asked to pay the bill for the Galileo over-run. Merritt concluded that space is becoming increasingly important in all matters linked to military and security activities. The SDA would be taking it very seriously indeed.



*EU Commissioner Günter Verheugen and
SDA Director Giles Merritt*



Participants after the first session



Discussions with Jean-Jaques Dordain, Director General of ESA



*Mesut Cicker, Lockheed Martin, Irene Svensson, Saab and
Gilles Maquet, ASTRIUM during the SDA members' lunch*



Park Leopold during the break



Networking during lunch



Participants before the second session



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SDA SPACE GROUP



“EU STRUGGLES FOR ACCORD ON MILITARY SPACE”

Defense News

“EUROPE CALLS FOR MORE MILITARY SPACE SPENDING”

Jane's Defence Weekly

HOW DID THIS IDEA COME ABOUT?

In the framework of its **monthly Roundtables** the SDA has organised two very successful meetings on ‘**Tracking European Space Policy: have we got the civil military balance right?**’ and ‘**Space and Security in Europe**’. The meetings attracted a lot of interest from the scientific community, government officials, industry, international institutions, NGOs and EU and NATO officials. The SDA will continue to build upon these meetings to contribute to the current space and security debate.

‘**TRACKING EUROPEAN SPACE POLICIES - HAVE WE GOT THE CIVIL - MILITARY BALANCE RIGHT?**’

Roundtable October 17, 2005 - Brussels

With the support of VEGA



The panelists included:

- **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
- **Col. Yves Blin**, Deputy Chief Space Systems at the French Joint Military Staff
- **Bertrand de Cordoue**, Director of Research and Technology Department, European Defence Agency (EDA)

- **Gen. (rtd) Bernard Molard**, Chairman of the Security and Defence working Group of EUROSPACE

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.

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 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.

'SPACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE'

Roundtable December 6, 2004 – Brussels

The Panellists included:

- **Robert Bell**, Vice President European Business, SAIC and former NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investment
- **Gerhard Brauer**, Head of the Security Office, European Space Agency (ESA)
- **Mike Dillon**, CEO, ESYS plc
- **Friedrich W. Kriesel**, Commander, Strategic Reconnaissance Command, German Ministry of Defence
- **Lars-Erik Lundin**, Head of Unit Security Policy, DG External Relations, European Commission
- **Gilles Maquet**, Representative, Eurospace
- **Jack Metthey**, Director Space and Transport, DG Research, European Commission
- **Nick Mitsis**, Editor, Via Satellite
- **Uwe Möller**, Director, Brussels' Office, German Aerospace Center (DLR)
- **Stefano Silvestri**, President, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome

"The security of European citizens is a must and the information received from space is indispensable"

ESA's Gerhard Brauer made it clear that this Roundtable touched upon a very timely topic. The debate showed that there were many facets to space and its potential use in the realms of defence. But as SAIC's Robert Bell noted ***"There are many miles to go in this saga"***.

The report of the meeting puts forward several topics that need further discussion: the need to coordinate international cooperation on space research, to clarify the role of space in the ESDP, to identify crucial applications and develop common requirements. The Space and Security Group can bring together all the key players and spark up the debate on these pressing issues.

**IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE SDA'S SPACE ACTIVITIES
PLEASE CONTACT US AT**

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THE SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA (SDA) IS THE ONLY SPECIALIST BRUSSELS-BASED THINK-TANK WHERE EU INSTITUTIONS, NATO, NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS, INDUSTRY, SPECIALISED AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA, THINK TANKS, ACADEMIA AND NGOs GATHER TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN AND TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICIES IN EUROPE AND WORLDWIDE.



Stefan Zollar and Gen Harald Kujat



Günter Verheugen and Karl von Wogau



Vecdi Gönül and Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

BUILDING ON THE COMBINED EXPERTISE AND AUTHORITY OF THOSE INVOLVED IN OUR MEETINGS, THE SDA GIVES GREATER PROMINENCE TO THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS OF HOW EU AND NATO POLICIES CAN COMPLEMENT ONE ANOTHER, AND HOW TRANSATLANTIC CHALLENGES SUCH AS TERRORISM AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CAN BE MET.

BY OFFERING A HIGH-LEVEL AND NEUTRAL PLATFORM FOR DEBATE, THE SDA SETS OUT TO CLARIFY POLICY POSITIONS, STIMULATE DISCUSSION AND ENSURE A WIDER UNDERSTANDING OF DEFENCE AND SECURITY ISSUES BY THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

SDA ACTIVITIES:

- MONTHLY ROUNDTABLES AND EVENING DEBATES
- PRESS DINNERS AND LUNCHEES
- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES
- REPORTING GROUPS AND SPECIAL EVENTS

PROTECTING EUROPE – INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE – SPRING 2006



Franco Frattini talks to Giuseppe Orsi and Denis Ranque at SDA's annual security conference



Atlantic Rendez Vous transatlantic satellite debate organised in conjunction with SDA's event

THE SECURITY & DEFENCE AGENDA WOULD LIKE TO THANK ITS PARTNERS
AND MEMBERS FOR THEIR SUPPORT IN MAKING THE SDA A SUCCESS



Mission of the Russian Federation to the EU

Mission of the US to NATO

Delegation of the Netherlands to NATO

Ministry of National Defence, Turkey

Centre for Studies in Security and Diplomacy
University of Birmingham

A *Security & Defence Agenda* Roundtable Report

Rapporteur: John Chapman

Photos: Frédéric Remouchamps, Keops

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