

# European Defence Matters

## EU Global Strategy – What's next for defence?



**Interview:** Stéphane Mayer  
NEXTER CEO / KNDS co-CEO

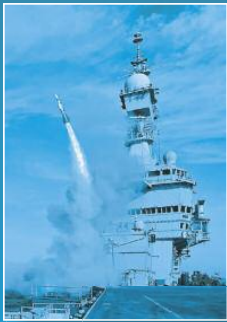


**Focus on energy**  
management in defence



**Interview:** Jens Stoltenberg  
NATO Secretary General

CHOOSE SAMP/T,  
THE UNIQUE EUROPEAN  
EXTENDED AIR  
DEFENSE SYSTEM



**ATBM PROVEN  
06<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 2013**

**ATBM PROVEN  
14<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 2011**

**ATBM PROVEN  
18<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2010**



  
**eurosam**  
Innovative air defense

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**Design**

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**Printing**Drukkerij Hendrix NV  
Kiezel Kleine-Brogel 55, B-3990 Peer  
Belgium

This document is published by the EDA in the interests of exchange of information

Front cover image; © European Union 2014 - European Parliament. Other images; EDA, Shutterstock, Thinkstock

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**European Defence Matters is the only dedicated official European defence magazine focusing on senior decision-makers within national governments, European institutions and industry in Europe.**

Published three times per year, with a circulation of around 10,000 copies, the magazine provides a unique vehicle for the wider European defence community to debate the essential issues around capabilities, research, EU policies, industrial matters, armament programmes, procurement and larger Defence & Security challenges.

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EDA is a member of the European Military Press Association

Catalogue number OU-AC-16-002-EN-N  
ISSN (2443-5511)

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# EUGS: setting the ambitions for a stronger CSDP

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The new EU Global Strategy sets an ambitious vision for Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and provides a good foundation for a stronger, more credible and more efficient European defence

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**W**hen the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini, last June presented the EU's new 'Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy' (EUGS), our choice for the cover story of this 11th issue of *European Defence Matters* became a no-brainer.

Indeed, as Prof. Dr. Sven Biscop, Director at the Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations in Brussels and one of our guest writers in this magazine, accurately points out: "The EUGS is one of the most ambitious EU documents on defence to date. For the first time, strategic autonomy has unambiguously become the objective. Not a moment too soon, as security challenges inside and around Europe are rising, while the US has made it clear that it will not, and cannot, solve all of Europe's problems".

Arguably, among the most ambitious EUGS statements, ideas and proposals many are related to defence and military capabilities. In a nutshell, it calls for a more credible, efficient and interoperable European defence. Europeans need to be better equipped, trained and organised to take effective military action autonomously, if and when necessary. Europe needs a sustainable, innovative and competitive defence industry allowing it to rely on the "full spectrum" of land, air, space and maritime capabilities, including strategic enablers. And, most importantly, Member States need to move towards defence cooperation "as the norm". However: ambitious as the EUGS might be, what really matters at the end is its practical implementation.

We therefore propose an analysis of the defence aspects of the EUGS while also looking at the follow up, especially in view of the strategy's concrete

implementation. This should include further specifying the civil-military level of ambition, tasks, requirements and capability priorities. In particular, we asked Prof. Dr. Sven Biscop to outline what, in his view, this defence strategy should entail and how it could be implemented. Furthermore, Luis Simón, Director of the Brussels office of the Royal Elcano Institute, looked at the EUGS through the prism of increasing geopolitical interdependence.

In the first of a new series of 'Industry Talk' interviews which will become from now on a regular feature of our magazine, we spoke to Nexter CEO Stéphane Mayer about the recent merger with Krauss-Maffei Wegmann (KMW) and the creation of KNDS which, many say, could be the beginning of a consolidation process in the land defence systems sector in Europe.

EU-NATO cooperation is another topic after the two organisations signed a Joint Declaration last July. We also spoke to NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg about this, the recent Warsaw NATO Summit and the EU Global Strategy.

In a longer article, we looked at the growing importance of energy management in the defence as the impact of energy consumption on defence budgets and military effectiveness is growing drastically.

In our 'Opinion' section, Jyrki Katainen, European Commission Vice-President, shared his analysis about the importance of the 'circular economy' concept for the defence sector and how it can help to improve the European defence industry's competitiveness. We also have an exclusive interview with the chair of the EU military Committee (EUMC), General Mikhail Kostarakos.

Should you have comments or suggestions to make, please contact us: [info@eda.europa.eu](mailto:info@eda.europa.eu).

Enjoy your reading! 


# News

## Industry wants research to be "top priority" of Defence Action Plan

In a position paper issued in July, the AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD) asked the European Commission to focus its upcoming European Defence Action Plan (EDAP), expected before the end of this year, on a limited number of clearly defined priorities, together with concrete measures and a timetable for their implementation.

Research should be the "top priority" because it is "crucial to ensure that European industry remains competitive and that our armed forces get state-of-the-art equipment

they need to fulfil their missions", ASD said. It called on the Commission to make a clear commitment in the EDAP to develop the Preparatory Action (PA) for CSDP-related research further into a legislative proposal for a "substantial" European Defence Research programme (EDRP), funded by "circa €500m/year", as part of the EU's next multiannual financial framework (2021-2027). The action plan should also give an orientation on how to improve the effectiveness of the two 2009 EU directives on defence procurement and intra-European transfers.

Furthermore, the Commission should make security of supply a priority of its work programme for 2017 with a view to effective implementation of the roadmap concerning this issue before the end of its mandate in 2019. The future security of supply regime should be based on a commitment by Member States not to hinder any transfer of goods needed for the use, maintenance or modernisation of defence equipment acquired by another Member State, once it has authorised the initial sale of the equipment, ASD said. [www.asd-europe.org](http://www.asd-europe.org) 



## Multinational Multi-Role Tanker Transport Fleet (MMF) takes shape

On 28 July, the Dutch Ministry of Defence (MoD) notified its national Parliament of the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with Luxembourg to proceed with the acquisition of a pooled fleet of Airbus A330 Multi Role Tanker Transport (A330 MRTT) aircraft.

It also announced the signing, that same day, of a contract paving the way for the delivery of two Airbus aircraft with options for

up to six more when, as expected, other nations join the grouping. "The MRTT (Multi Role Tanker Transport) project is an example of the type of future-oriented collaboration between European countries that the government advocates", the Dutch MoD said in a press statement. The aircraft will be NATO property and will be stationed at Eindhoven Air Base for pooling and sharing. The European Defence Agency (EDA), which facilitated the project, and

the European materiel organisation Organisation Conjointe de Coopération en matière d'Armement (OCCAR) are closely involved in the purchase of the aircraft, on behalf of the NATO Support & Procurement Agency (NSPA). Discussions are underway at various stages with Belgium, Germany, Norway and Poland with a view to those nations also participating in the programme, known as the Multinational MRTT Fleet (MMF) initiative. 

# EU Global Strategy – Meeting the security

**Now that the new EU Global Strategy (EUGS) is on the table, the critical work of implementation has to start.**

One of the core areas for urgent follow-up is defence and in particular the future defence capabilities EU Member States' Armed Forces will require to be able to live up to the Union's Common Security and Defence (CSDP) ambitions.

In the following dossier, *European Defence Matters* analyses the defence implications of the EUGS and gives the floor to subject matter experts to comment on the Strategy document and the actions which need to follow.

Partners  
Common Action  
Stronger

# Shared Vision United challenges of the 21st century

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# › Serving European Security – Towards defence cooperation becoming 'the norm'

Released by EU High Representative **Federica Mogherini** end of June in the immediate wake of the UK's vote to leave the European Union, the long-awaited 'Global Strategy for the EU's Foreign and Security Policy' probably didn't get the immediate attention and appraisal it deserved. Yet the document, only the second of its kind after the 2003 European Security Strategy, sets ambitious goals and puts forward a number of innovative initiatives which, if followed-up, have the potential to bolster the Union's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in the years ahead

**P**resented with the Global Strategy at a 28 June European Council meeting entirely overshadowed by Brexit, EU leaders understandably stopped short of discussing the content of the document but "welcomed" its presentation and, most importantly, invited the High Representative, the Commission and the Council "to take the work forward". Notwithstanding, there are multiple reasons why energy matters for the military.

The High Representative decided to stick to the time schedule for the publication of the Strategy because, as she explained in the foreword, there was no time to lose. "In challenging times, a strong Union is one that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together. This is even more true after the British referendum. This is no time for uncertainty: our Union needs a Strategy. We need a shared vision, and common action", she stated.

Some guidance on how the 'work forward' should look like, at least on its defence-related part, is already given in the Strategy itself: it calls for the development of a "sectoral strategy" to be approved by the Council which "should further specify the civil-military level

of ambition, tasks, requirements and capability priorities stemming from this Strategy".

On 18 July, EU foreign ministers meeting in the Foreign Affairs Council had a first discussion on the follow-up strategy; they welcomed the document and expressed their readiness to continue the work in the implementation phase. The High Representative concluded this first ministerial debate underlining her intent to present "in the autumn" of 2016 a framework with processes and timelines. This framework, Mrs Mogherini said, "will detail the work to come to operationalise the vision set out in the strategy, on

strands such as security and defence", but also on other civilian policies including sustainable development and migration, as well as the link between development and humanitarian aid. It will be a "clear framework with timetables and proposals for starting implementation of the Global Strategy already in September". Defence ministers will be

involved in this exercise, she added.

## Soft AND hard power

A fundamental point is made from the outset by Mrs Mogherini in the Strategy's foreword: to protect the security and prosperity of the citizens in and around Europe, the EU cannot limit itself to 'soft power' tools but must rely on a wide array of policies and instruments, including military power if required. "The European Union has always prided itself on its soft power – and it will keep doing so, because we are the best in this field. However, the idea that Europe is an exclusively 'civilian power' does not do justice to

an evolving reality. For Europe, soft and hard power go hand in hand", the High Representative insists. This maxim – considered all but self-evident in the past – is reiterated even stronger in the main text of the Strategy: "In this fragile world, soft power is not enough: we must enhance our credibility in security and defence".



**"Member States will need to move towards defence cooperation as the norm"**

# ing Unity Challenges

# Global

# curity

"This is no time for uncertainty: our Union needs a Strategy. We need a shared vision, and common action"

## Strategic autonomy

With a constant emphasis on the intertwined security issues at home and abroad, the Strategy very comprehensively outlines the political level of ambition the EU should have as a world actor by touching upon a vast number of important topics. But the most ambitious statements, ideas and proposals it puts forward are related to defence and military capabilities.

First and foremost, the Strategy insists on the need for Europe to develop an appropriate level of 'strategic autonomy' in order to be able to guarantee the security of the Union and its citizens. "Europeans must take greater responsibility for (their) security" and, therefore, need to invest more and better in defence in order to be "better equipped, trained and organised", be it for contributing to collective defence efforts (NATO) or for acting "autonomously if and when necessary". Therefore, "an appropriate level of ambition and strategic autonomy is important for Europe's ability to foster peace and safeguard security within and beyond its borders".

The Strategy also stresses that "a sustainable, innovative and competitive

European defence industry is essential for Europe's strategic autonomy and for a credible CSDP". A solid European defence, technological and industrial base needs a "fair, functioning and transparent internal market, security of supply, and a structured dialogue with defence relevant industries".

In this respect, EU funds to support defence research and technologies and multinational cooperation are crucial for European security and defence efforts underpinned by a strong European defence industry, the Strategy underlines. "Crucially, EU funding for defence research and technology, reflected first in the mid-term review of the Multiannual Financial Framework, and then in a fully-fledged programme in the next budget cycle, will prove instrumental in developing the defence capabilities Europe needs".

While insisting on the undisputed fact that "NATO remains the primary framework for most Member States", the Strategy underscores that the EU needs to be strengthened as a "security community: European security and defence efforts should enable the EU to act autonomously while also contributing to and undertaking actions in cooperation with NATO".

Echoing the letter and spirit of the Joint

Declaration signed by both organization on 8 July in Warsaw, the Strategy calls for a strong EU-NATO relationship with both sides being complementary: "The EU will therefore deepen cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance in complementarity, synergy, and full respect for the institutional framework, inclusiveness and decision-making autonomy of the two".

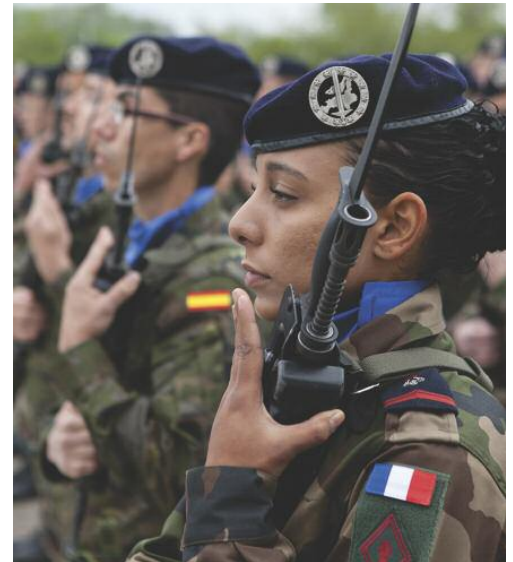
## Defence cooperation has to become "the norm"

For Europe to achieve strategic autonomy and become a security provider capable of responding to external crises and keeping its territory and citizens safe, Member States need to have at their disposal "all major high-end military capabilities and equipment", as well as the technological and industrial means to acquire and sustain such capabilities. "This means having full-spectrum land, air, space and maritime capabilities, including strategic enablers", one reads in the Strategy.

Europeans must also improve the monitoring and control of flows which have security implications. This requires investing in Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance, including Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems (RPAS, or drones), satellite communications, >



"Crucially, EU funding for defence research and technology(...) will prove instrumental in developing the defence capabilities Europe needs"



and autonomous access to space and permanent earth observation, the document emphasizes.

Furthermore, Europeans must invest in digital capabilities to secure data, networks and critical infrastructure within the European digital space. "We must develop capabilities in trusted digital services and products and in cyber technologies to enhance our resilience. We will encourage greater investments and skills across Member States through cooperative research and development, training, exercises and procurement programmes".

Against this backdrop, and notwithstanding the overarching consensus that "Member States remain sovereign in their defence decisions", the Strategy urges EU leaders to come to terms with the reality that "no Member State can afford to do this individually: this requires a concerted and cooperative effort". As a consequence, "Member States will need to move towards defence cooperation as the norm". Cooperation is all the more indispensable as "nationally-oriented defence programmes are insufficient to address capability shortfalls".

**EDA as a key cooperation tool for Member States**

The current "voluntary approach" towards defence capability cooperation will not suffice to achieve these goals and, therefore, must be turned "into real commitment", is stated in the Strategy which calls for collaborative programmes to be "systematically encouraged" at EU level.

A crucial role lies with the European Defence Agency (EDA): the "full use of its potential" in the capability development field is an "essential prerequisite" for European

security and defence efforts. In particular, the EDA has a "key role to play by strengthening the Capability Development Plan, acting as an interface between Member States and the Commission, and assisting Member States to develop the capabilities stemming from the political goals set out in the Strategy".

The Strategy also stresses the importance of a "gradual synchronization and mutual adaptation of national defence planning cycles and capability development practices" which can enhance strategic convergence between Member States. "Regular assessments of EDA benchmarks can also create positive peer pressure among Member States".


An annual coordinated review process at EU level to discuss Member States' military spending plans could, for instance, generate greater coherence in defence planning and capability development. This should take place in "full coherence with NATO's defence planning process".

**Exploring enhanced cooperation**

To shape a more responsive and effective CSDP, the EU should also streamline its

institutional structure. Though the Strategy refrains from openly calling for a "permanent civil-military chain of command" as did the German and French Foreign ministers in a joint statement end of June, the Strategy nevertheless calls for a "strengthening of operational planning and conduct structures" as well as closer connections between civilian and military structures and missions, bearing in mind that these may be deployed in the same theatre. To this end, "enhanced cooperation between Member States should be explored, and might lead to a more structured form of cooperation, making full use of the Lisbon Treaty's potential", it is stated in the Strategy.

**High expectations**

As the preparatory work on the defence sub-strategy continues, expectations are high among defence stakeholders (including the EDA, see box below) that swift and concrete steps will be taken in order to translate the Strategy into tangible follow-on actions which match the expressed level of ambition. 

**Federica Mogherini** was mandated to prepare the new EU Global Strategy by the European Council in June 2015 and invited to present it to the leaders in June of this year. The strategy is the result of an open and transparent process: between the summers of 2015 and 2016, extensive consultations took place with the EU Member States, the European institutions, the European civil society at large, including think tanks. The strategy, elaborated under the leadership of the High Representative, reflects the collective views expressed in the process and offers a strategic vision for the EU global role.

The full text is available here:  
[http://eeas.europa.eu/top\\_stories/pdf/eugs\\_review\\_web.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf)





# › An ambitious defence follow-up for an ambitious EUGS

In the following pages, Prof. Dr. Sven Biscop outlines what, in his view, a sectoral defence strategy or EU Defence White Paper – announced as part of the EU Global Strategy follow-up – should entail and how it could be implemented

**T**he EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS) is one of the most ambitious EU documents on defence to date. For the first time, strategic autonomy has unambiguously become the objective. Not a moment too soon, as security challenges inside and around Europe are rising, while the US has made it clear that it will not, and cannot, solve all of Europe's problems.

The operational dimension of strategic autonomy comes down to the ability to act without the US whenever necessary. From that follows the industrial dimension: having a defence industry that can produce everything that this requires, notably the strategic enablers.

The EUGS sets out four major military tasks: to help protect the European way of life at home; to maintain stability in the broad neighbourhood; to maintain the freedom of the global commons; and to contribute to United Nations collective security. Together, these four tasks represent a clear increase in the burden placed on Europe's armed forces.

The neighbourhood especially presents a challenge. The emphasis is on increasing resilience and building capacity, but where war is ongoing, the EUGS also commits the EU to protect civilians →

and to consolidate local ceasefires. That entails deploying troops on the ground with serious firepower, backed up by air support and ready reserves, who will not necessarily seek out and destroy an opponent but who will fight when the civilians for whom they are responsible are threatened. Without that determination, the EU will not have created a safe zone but a trap. For many Member States, land operations with such a high potential of combat go far beyond anything that they have recently undertaken, certainly in an autonomous European framework.

It is vital therefore that the implications of this and the other tasks are spelled out and fully taken on board by the political and military leadership. The EUGS provides for a "sectoral strategy" on defence to do exactly that, under the heading, recently announced by the High Representative, of a Strategic Implementation Plan on Security and Defence. What this really is, of course, is an EU defence white paper.

The EUGS itself calls for "full-spectrum land, air, space and maritime capabilities, including strategic enablers". The white paper must now quantify the four military tasks and the desired concurrency: How many operations, of which size, should Europeans be able to undertake simultaneously, without relying on non-European assets?

When a new strategy demands strategic autonomy, it would be contradictory to set too modest a level of ambition. Some now propose to focus on the autonomous deployment of a brigade, presenting this as an increase as compared to the ambition to have two battalion-size Battlegroups on stand-by. That, of course, is the wrong point of departure: the existing level of ambition is the Headline Goal – to deploy and sustain up to a corps of 60,000. It is the Headline Goal that must be revised – upwards.

For sure, if after a Brexit the British contribution is withdrawn from the EU's Force Catalogue, it will create gaps that in the short

term cannot be easily filled by the existing capabilities of the remaining Member States. But the Headline Goal was set in 1999, for a Union of 15 Member States. A revised Headline Goal will be a target for a Union of 27, with 1.35 million troops and a total defence expenditure of \$200 billion. At the very least, the current Headline Goal should remain eminently feasible. But with such overall numbers even an increased Headline Goal can be achieved over time – on the condition that defence integration is pushed much further. And an increased Headline Goal will be necessary if Europeans want to be able to deploy, simultaneously: long-term brigade-size stabilisation

operations and a high intensity crisis management operation of several brigades and squadrons in the neighbourhood, as well as long-term naval operations, and battalion-size contributions to UN peacekeeping, while engaging in capacity-building and military cooperation.

In light of the crises in Europe's neighbourhood and the global geopolitical tensions, this level of ambition is none too high. It is but the reflection of the rhythm of operations of the last decade. Maintaining and, over time, even increasing the Headline Goal is the realist option therefore: in view of what is necessary, but also in view of what is possible, looking at Europe's military potential. Realism not only means not setting unachievable objectives – it also means not

"The (defence) white paper must now quantify the four military tasks and the desired concurrency: How many operations, of which size, should Europeans be able to undertake simultaneously, without relying on non-European assets?"

**Prof. Dr. Sven Biscop** is the Director of the Europe in the World Programme at the Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations in Brussels, and teaches at Ghent University and at the College of Europe in Bruges. He is an Honorary Fellow of the European Security and Defence College, and chairs the jury of the biennial EDA-Egmont PhD Prize.



setting the bar too low and underexploit the potential that is there.

The white paper need not be very long, nor therefore should it take a long time to draft – it ought to be adopted in early 2017. Subsequently, the EU Military Staff (EUMS) can revisit the illustrative scenarios for European operations. The existing scenarios focus on peace enforcement, peacekeeping, evacuation of EU citizens, capacity-building, and supporting disaster relief.

These can be updated by incorporating the implications of tasks related to "homeland security" and counter-terrorism; perhaps an

additional maritime scenario can be envisaged. Then has to follow a new iteration of the Capability Development Mechanism (CDM), updating the detailed catalogues of capability requirements, existing capabilities (minus the UK), and shortfalls.

This will take time, but immediately after the adoption of the white paper, the European Defence Agency (EDA) can already update the Capability Development Plan (CDP), which was foreseen in 2017 anyway, and generate a first set of capability priorities in order to link national and multinational efforts to the objective of strategic autonomy.



**"The (defence) white paper is key to the industrial side of strategic autonomy too"**



These priorities can then be incorporated into the NATO Defence Planning Process (NDPP) as well. Only if the next iteration of the NDPP takes into account the capability requirements of European strategic autonomy, notably with regard to enablers, can a capability mix be created that allows Europeans to do all: to contribute to Article 5, to undertake non-Article 5 operations with the US and the other non-EU Allies, and to launch autonomous expeditionary operations. In the words of the EUGS: "European security and defence efforts should enable the EU to act autonomously while also contributing to and undertaking actions in cooperation with NATO".

The white paper is key to the industrial side of strategic autonomy too. Under the next framework programme for research (2021-2027), the European Commission will, for the first time, provide significant funding (of at least €500 million) for defence research – a concrete result of the December 2013 European Council meeting on defence. The white paper and the resulting capability priorities must become the formal guidance for the use of these new funds, so that they will directly contribute to the goal of strategic autonomy. Industry must serve the Member States and their armed forces, not the other way around.

Finally, Member States need not wait until the new Headline Goal has been translated into detailed requirements and a new CDP to take action. The EU should avoid the impression that the EUGS has just engendered another paper tiger. The only way to achieve the capability targets will be further cooperation and integration, at two levels. At the EU-level, making full use of the EDA, to acquire the necessary strategic enablers. And at the level of various clusters of Member States, to create larger deployable formations through a combination of far-reaching pooling and specialization. The EU as such can facilitate cooperation in clusters, but only the Member States themselves can initiate it. They should do so as soon as the EU white paper is finished.

At that point, two simultaneous processes should thus take off: while the EU institutions prepare a new iteration of the CDP, one or more clusters of Member States coming at it from the other side should immediately announce the start of closer military integration between them, in order to demonstrate a number of shorter term results. For results are what we need. ■