

SACT INTERVENTION at

The EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

BRUSSELS, 03 December 2014

General Paloméros

Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

Introduction:

Vice Chairman Christian Ehler (DEU) TBC, Members of the European Parliament, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I must begin by thanking you for your kind invitation and say how honoured I am to be given the opportunity to address once again the Subcommittee on Security and Defence of the European Parliament.

As I stand before you, we are experiencing a period of particularly intense political exchanges between European Union and NATO. The very recent joint press conference held by the newly appointed High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, and NATO's Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg or the fact that the High Representative attended yesterday's Foreign Ministers Meeting are in response to the mutual invitations sent by the highest political authorities of both organizations to take part in the European Council held in December 2013 and NATO's latest summit held in Wales.

Both organizations, with 22 members in common, have recognized the complementarity of their actions when dealing with recent crises. They have therefore further underscored the importance of continuing to seek greater synergy and avoid unnecessary duplication, especially when we are operating under significant budgetary constraints.

To be honest, I believe that the success of this undertaking is reliant not only on the impetus given at the political level, but also on close military cooperation within an agreed political framework. This will allow greater openness and transparency between our two organizations so that we can work together to prepare our responses to future challenges affecting the security of the European continent.

We have to be realistic as well. NATO and the EU are both confronted with the same serious challenges which call for answers that are all at once complementary, the result of greater coordination and will allow us to preserve Europe's security.

Now more than ever, peace and defence in Europe require a strong transatlantic link, while we continue to seek a better balance between the defence effort made on both sides of the Atlantic and within the European Union.

These perspectives are an integral part of the Alliance's Transformation efforts which have been entrusted to my headquarters which is based in the United States. This is a complex but fascinating mission which I will begin by describing briefly.





[ACT's Role]

Since its creation in 2003, ACT has been tasked with directing and encouraging the ongoing transformation of the Alliance, including its capability and materiel development, but also its doctrine, organizations, infrastructure, training and exercises. This work is intended to improve our operational readiness and to bring about the greatest interoperability achievable for the forces of NATO Allies and their partners. These domains also rely on the significant intellectual efforts we have undertaken to analyze future trends. The Alliance's transformation is a continuous process intended to preserve a credible level of conventional and nuclear forces in order to respond to NATO's missions as they are defined in the Lisbon Strategic Concept: Collective Defence, Crisis Management and Cooperative Security.

[The considerable challenges facing both organizations]

As the NATO Secretary General pointed out recently, both our organizations are faced with many common security challenges.

First of all, we are clearly confronted with multiple, complex and versatile threats at Europe's borders.

To our East, the crisis in Ukraine has highlighted the use of new hybrid strategies, combining military, paramilitary, civilian elements, whether conventional or irregular, and a well thought-out and executed communication strategy.

These new methods will require global answers, which will include the diplomatic, economic, information and military realms, such as those we are seeing used today in Ukraine involving complementary actions by the European Union, NATO and the OSCE.

Europe's southern flank faces an arc of crisis stretching from the Sahel and the Sahara desert in North Africa to the Middle East which only a concerted approach can contain. Somalia for instance, offers a textbook example of what can be achieved through cooperation, with the complementary efforts of the European Union, NATO, the United Nations, the African Union and the United States.

Furthermore, the West's technological superiority, which has underpinned our military strategy over many decades, may not last much beyond 2030. The spread of highly capable and relatively cheap military and technological capabilities will limit our ability to intervene while at the same time making it riskier to do so.

As we face these future challenges, I believe NATO and the European Union should share their visions of the future. I sought to do this within ACT, by including EU teams in our Strategic Foresight Analysis work and the initial phase of the Framework for Future Alliance Operations. Both documents were intended to analyze the major trends for the future in the political, human, technological, economic and environmental domains; to draw out the areas of instability which these factors may give rise to and to prepare the work of adapting our military strategies and capabilities. By looking to the future in this way, we hope to shape the political directives which NATO is currently developing for a new planning cycle starting in 2015, which may also offer further potential areas for cooperation between both our





First part of the speech initially delivered in French

Introduction:

Monsieur le Vice-Président Christian Ehler (DEU) TBC, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés Européens, Mesdames et Messieurs,

Je vous remercie vivement pour votre invitation et suis particulièrement honoré de pouvoir m'adresser une nouvelle fois devant la sous-commission Sécurité et Défense du Parlement Européen.

Mon intervention devant vous a lieu au cours d'une période d'échanges dynamiques au niveau politique entre l'Union européenne et l'OTAN. La très récente conférence de presse commune de la nouvelle Haute représentante Federica Mogherini et du Secrétaire général Jens Stoltenberg ou encore la présence hier de la haute représentante à la réunion des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères a fait suite aux invitations réciproques des hautes autorités politiques des deux organisations au Conseil européen de décembre 2013 et au dernier Sommet de l'OTAN au pays de Galles.

A cette occasion, les deux organisations, s'appuyant sur les 22 Etats qu'elles comptent en commun ont reconnu la complémentarité de leurs actions dans la gestion des crises récentes. Elles ont donc insisté sur la nécessité de poursuivre cette recherche de synergie en limitant les duplications d'efforts, en particulier dans un contexte de contraintes budgétaires importantes.

Et pour aller droit au but, je pense que le succès de cette entreprise dépend non seulement de cet élan donné par l'échelon politique mais également d'une étroite coopération militaire dans le cadre politique agréé. Elle permettra une plus grande ouverture et transparence entre nos deux organisations afin de préparer ensemble les réponses aux défis futurs affectant la sécurité du continent européen.

Car il faut être pragmatique. L'OTAN et l'UE font face à des défis partagés considérables qui nécessitent des réponses mieux concertées et complémentaires permettant de préserver la sécurité de l'Europe. Aujourd'hui plus que jamais, la Défense et la paix en Europe reposent sur un lien transatlantique fort, mais aussi sur la recherche d'un meilleur équilibre dans les efforts de défense d'une part entre les 2 rives de l'Atlantique et d'autre part au sein de l'Union Européenne.

Ces perspectives font partie intégrante des efforts de Transformation de l'Alliance dont mon état-major, basé aux Etats-Unis, a la charge, mission complexe mais passionnante que je souhaite tout d'abord brièvement rappeler.

[Le rôle d'ACT]

ACT est chargé depuis sa création en 2003, de diriger et d'animer le processus continu de Transformation de l'Alliance, ce qui recouvre le développement de capacités, des équipements, mais aussi des doctrines d'emploi, des organisations, des infrastructures, de l'entrainement et des exercices. Ces travaux cherchent à assurer la meilleure préparation opérationnelle et la plus grande interopérabilité possibles pour les forces des nations alliées et de leurs partenaires. Ces domaines se nourrissent entre autre d'une solide réflexion prospective.

La transformation de l'Alliance est un processus permanent qui vise à conserver un ensemble de forces conventionnelles et nucléaires crédibles pour répondre aux missions





définies par le concept stratégique de Lisbonne : La Défense collective, la gestion des crises et la sécurité coopérative.

[Les Défis considérables des deux Organisations]

Comme le soulignait récemment le Secrétaire général de l'OTAN, nos deux organisations sont confrontées à de nombreux défis sécuritaires communs.

Tout d'abord, il est très clair que nous faisons face à une multiplicité, une complexité et une versatilité des menaces aux frontières de l'Europe.

A l'Est, la crise en Ukraine a mis en évidence le recours à un nouveau modèle de stratégie hybride, pouvant combiner des actions militaires, paramilitaires, civiles, conventionnelles ou irrégulières et s'appuyant sur une stratégie de communication savamment orchestrée.

Ces nouveaux modus operandi appellent des réponses globales touchant les domaines diplomatiques, économiques, informationnels et militaires, comme on le voit aujourd'hui en Ukraine avec les actions complémentaires de l'UE, de l'OTAN et de l'OSCE.

Le flanc Sud de l'Europe est aujourd'hui bordé par un arc de crises allant de la bande sahélo-saharienne au Nord de l'Afrique jusqu'au Moyen-Orient que seule une approche globale peut permettre de contenir. En terme de coopération la Somalie constitue un cas d'école par la complémentarité des efforts de l'UE, de l'OTAN, des Nations-Unies, de l'Union Africaine et des Etats-Unis.

Enfin, la supériorité technologique occidentale fondement de notre stratégie militaire depuis de nombreuses décennies n'apparaît plus garantie à l'échéance 2030. En effet, la dissémination de capacités militaires et technologiques performantes et relativement peu coûteuses est de nature à limiter nos capacités d'intervention et à en augmenter les risques.

Face à ces principaux défis futurs, l'OTAN et l'UE se doivent à mon sens de partager leurs visions prospectives. Je l'ai souhaité au sein d'ACT en associant des équipes de l'UE à nos travaux réalisés au sein d'un Strategic Foresight Analysis et de la première phase d'un Framework for Future Alliance Operations. Ces deux documents ont pour but d'analyser les tendances majeures pour le futur dans les domaines politiques, humains, technologiques, économiques et environnementaux, d'en déduire les situations d'instabilité qui pourraient en découler et les nécessaires adaptation de nos stratégies et capacités militaires. Pour l'OTAN cet éclairage de l'avenir doit permettre d'orienter les directives politiques en cours de préparation pour un nouveau cycle de planification qui débute en 2015, ce qui fournit un autre axe de coopération intéressant pour nos 2 institutions.

[EU and NATO responding to these challenges]

Taking into account the many challenges for the Alliance, the Wales Summit underlined the necessity to improve NATO's forces responsiveness while capitalizing on existing initiatives to enhance their readiness, interoperability and resilience.

Readiness is a central piece of our ability to react adequately to emerging operational challenges.

The readiness of our forces relies on a high level of training and exercises. Accordingly, the Alliance is institutionalizing a process to maintain the very high level of interoperability nurtured by 2 decades of operations. The Connected Forces Initiative was triggered two years ago at the Chicago Summit to support this endeavour. For example, recently, we





have enabled to synchronize national and NATO exercises and to support the immediate reassurance measure to the Eastern Alliés. Nowadays, se have reached an average of one exercise starting every second days, ensuring a dynamic presence of forces all over Eastern Europe's territory.

This initiative includes also high visibility strategic exercises such as Trident Juncture 2015 which will include a live portion hosted by Spain, Portugal and Italy gathering more than 25,000 personnel. The scenarios will be highly intensive, challenging our forces on land, sea, air and in the cyberspace. As part of the exercise, we will be joined, for the first time by the Visegrad Nations in an initiative to link their EUBG certification exercise to Trident Juncture.

Readiness supposes also a viable capability development relying on Defence spending efforts but also smart investments and initiatives.

The urgent need for European Nations to stop the budget cuts and to reinvest in their Defence has been stressed by the Hos and Gvt in Wales. Therefore, the Allies pledged to spend 2% of their Gross Domestic Product on defence and 20% of their defence budget on inventent including related Research and Technology. But even so, there will remain a crucial need to invest these future resources very smartly in a concerted manner both inside the EU and NATO.

Planning for future capabilities is a complex process. Without going into details, we know that we have very different Defence planning process in NATO and for CSDP. NATO Defense Planning Process defines the capacities requested by the Alliance's Level of Ambition where the EU Capability Development Plan results from a comprehensive analysis of shortfalls, lessons learned, multinational capability database and longer term elements emanating from EDA 'long term vision'. Both processes have also different periodicity, but I do not see why we may not try to pragmatically find some possibilities of synchronization, not saying harmonization, in capitalizing on the complementarity of both processes, keeping in mind the same 22 nations which belong to both NATO and EU can only sustain a single set of forces.

In regard to the main capability shortfalls, we welcome the European Council ambitious decisions in December 2013 to invest in Air refuelling, satellite communication, Remotely Piloted Air Systems (RPAS) and cyber as it is filling critical European capability shortfalls made evident in recent NATO and EU operations in Libya or Africa. It can also be seen as an appropriate answer to the recurrent duty/responsibility sharing question raised on the other side of the Atlantic.

It implies that NATO and EU have to communicate and interact in these different domains. For instance, concerning cyber, within ACT, the Cyber Defence Programme team has had several recent interactions with the EU in the area of cyber. Last week, the EU Cyber Defence staff participated as an observer during NATO's largest ever multinational cyber defence exercise, "Cyber Coalition 2014." Additionally, ACT and the European Defence Agency have recently exchanged information and participated in meetings regarding the concept of Cyber Ranges.

Complementarity is also a driver in multinational capability development. This coordination has been going very productively between our Smart Defence Initiative and European Pooling and Sharing initiative through the NATO-EU Capability Group to which the AED has contributed for 10 years.





But developing capabilities does not mean they should remain specifically in the realm of each organization, they should be available when and where they are needed for the benefit of both organizations. When looking for innovative ideas to share capabilities, I found quite interesting the EATC (European Air Transport Command) endeavour, an initiative by Nations for Nations, which success is gathering new countries such as Spain and potentially Italy. This is an interesting approach that can benefit to EU and NATO without belonging to any of the two.

There are other examples in strategic transportation as the A400M aircraft has been developed and procured through OCCAr organization yet it is fulfilling the need of seven NATO countries. Concerning the air-to-air refuelling, the EU Multinational Multi Role Tanker Transport (MRTT) acquisition and sustainment will be led by European organization (OCCAr) with the support of NATO support agency (NSPA). I think these successes give incentives to work in a pragmatic cooperative mindset.

[Transatlantic and Industrial link]

In addition, I would say that European Industry has a fundamental place in NATO capability projects, which was stressed again during the recent Summit. ACT is playing its full role in leveraging this transatlantic cooperation, for the benefit of industries located on both sides of the Atlantic. This is what I would call "a fair return for everyone". For instance, our Nations will have to replace major equipment such as the AWACS fleet within 20 years. We are already working to provide initial critical and creative thinking for this complex project which could become the spearhead of the transatlantic industrial cooperation, a next milestone in success endeavors similar to Air Command and Control System, Cyber or Joint Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance.

[Enhance the global responsiveness]

All NATO and Europe's efforts to enhance operational readiness and capability development will ensure the greater readiness of our forces. The recent NATO Summit in Wales drew attention to the Readiness Action Plan in order to provide a faster and firmer response to the multiple security challenges appearing at Europe's door. To this end, NATO is currently working towards a highly reactive joint force able to deploy anywhere in NATO within a few days. While this work continues, it will require considerable effort on the part of the European and North American nations who will contribute to it.

This force is in effect a real life test of the Allies' solidarity, it will continue on the good work done on the Alliance's Rapid Response Force, but why not also take account of the experiences acquired by the EU Battle groups.

I am convinced that while these forces may not always be intended for the same types of missions, they are nevertheless complimentary and we should ensure their interoperability. The same goes for the European Maritime Security Strategy being developed which covers a wide gamut and that of the Alliance. We should also give greater emphasis to the improved complementarity symbolized by the colocation of the MARCOM and EU NAVFOR commands in Northwood.

Finally, I would draw your attention to two areas of common interest to both our organizations which will have a crucial part to play in crisis management and when dealing





with hybrid threats. I mean our ability to anticipate and strategic communications. One thing is unfortunately common to the recent crises, be it the Arab Spring, Ukraine or the rise of ISIL, it was our inability to predict them.

Intelligence and strategic foresight are priorities for both NATO and the European Union, but they also offer a unique opportunity to work together, both in the political and military arenas.

Similarly, the need to develop a proactive strategic communication capability is apparent, be it in Ukraine where we find daily evidence of the effects of a carefully orchestrated Russian communication campaign or in Iraq where ISIL has shown its mastery of social media for propaganda purposes. Once again, I believe that greater coordination between our organizations' communication policies would constitute a real progress.

[Conclusion]

By following a pragmatic and constructive approach in the areas of crisis management, capability development, strategic foresight and communications, the European Union and NATO have at their disposal a wide array of potential areas where their complementarity may usefully be strengthened. Our joint endeavours near the Horn of Africa, in the Balkans and in Afghanistan and the Mediterranean offer all the justifications needed for greater cooperation. But to do so will require that European nations follow through on their commitment to reinvest in their defence, as expressed during the European Council and the NATO Summit meetings, if they want to maintain credible military capabilities both for the Common Security and Defence Policy and for the Atlantic Alliance.

In conclusion, Mister Chairman, I wish to assure you that my staff stand entirely ready to reinforce this transparent, open, complementary cooperation while remaining respectful of the institutional integrity of both our organizations.

Thank you very much for your attention and I am more than happy to answer any question you may have.

