"Focusing on the initial phase of our officer training and education seems very small step but any measures taken promptly to improve our human resources responsible for implementing CFSP/ESDP will impact over time and help to make Europe more effective”

Javier Solana, EU High Representative for CFSP

1. INTRODUCTION

The weaknesses of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) have long been discussed among academics. One of the most notable hard issues is the capability one, alongside with the lack of interoperability in the European Union (EU). The central point of this discussion has been the lack of material means, but little has been written regarding the soft issues (human dimension, i.e. the capability and the interoperability issue among military personnel).

The first issue we would like to address is the general question: what makes a capability? According to the EU Military Staff and the European Defence Agency, a capability is the integration of manpower, equipment, performance, sustainability,
deployability, readiness, doctrine, interoperability and training. Therefore, the training areas, alongside with doctrine, are crucial elements of a capability, and they interact — and provide — interoperability.

On capability development — related with the European defence industry — the European Defence Agency (EDA) is fully committed, and is performing a significant effort in persuading EU Member States (MS) to deepen their defence procurement and industry development. EDA has also been making some efforts regarding the doctrine area. Still, its main goal is in the Defence industry.

On the other hand, the European Security and Defence College (ESDC), established in 2005, has the aim of providing strategic-level education in CSDP. The ESDC is also the key provider of CSDP-related training. So, it comes with no surprise that the ESDC immediately embraced the initiative of fostering EU MS Armed Forces initial training, including a specific module on CSDP in their education.

The programme designed to foster EU MS was started by the French presidency of the Union, and it was named "initiative for the exchange of young officers in their initial education, inspired by Erasmus". In this article we will address the initiative, the Lisbon Seminar, the outcomes of the Seminar with regard to its contribution to the training of the future human capabilities of the CSDP and draw some tentative conclusions.

## 2. LEARNING THE CSDP THROUGH THE CSDP

### 2.1. The birth of the European initiative for the exchange of young officers in their initial education, inspired by Erasmus

The French EU Presidency — held during the second semester 2008 — proposed an initiative to boost the exchanges of cadets between the military higher education institutions and created an especially dedicated working cell within the Ministry of Defence's (MoD) structure. From September 2007 to June 2008, the so-called "military Erasmus" cell studied the interests of such an initiative for the Member States and their institutions. It developed a questionnaire to be sent to the MS in order to proceed to a stocktaking of military education in Europe and to ask the military institutions about their expectations related to the project. The Council General Secretariat conducted this stocktaking phase and, based on this, drafted a series of recommendations with the objective of improving the European interconnection of the educational systems.

The General Affairs and External Relations Council with Defence Ministers endorsed these recommendations in the Declaration of November 10th 2008. The Declaration introduces this initiative in stating that it "is intended to strengthen the interoperability of the armed forces and promote a European security and defence culture".

The first part of the recommendations deals with measures to be taken at the European level. Those that are common to both academic and vocational training — i.e. professional and military — include the need for comparing the skills and competencies required from the cadet along his/her curriculum, for creating a database presenting the programmes offered by the educational institutions and their demand/offer in exchanges, and for identifying the obstacles to the enhancement of these exchanges. More specifically, on the academic aspects of training, the Declaration recommends: a development of CSDP and international security training modules which will be proposed to the military institutions and to ease the access to e-learning programmes for enlarging the academic offer of the institutions, notably in the field of CSDP education. The ESDC shall play a major role in this particular area according to its pedagogical mission but for a different target audience. Besides, it is asked to develop a model of academic training, based on a credit transfer systems such as the ECTS and attraction mechanism for exchanges in military training.

The second part of the recommendations addresses the Member States and their military institutions. Two of these recommendations are related to the Bologna process implementation. Member States are asked to encourage this integration of the acquis and to recognise education received in other Member States, which eventually is a major point of the process. Moreover, they are asked to encourage mobility of students and teaching staff and to promote the development of military education as well as two foreign languages within the military institutions.

The third part concerns the follow-up and the concrete implementation of the initiative. It plans the creation of an implementation group and outlines the need for a continued assessment of relevant measures with regard to the objective of the initiative.

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2.2. A contribution to the enhancement of a European culture of Security and Defence

The initiative thus conceived intends to enhance a European culture in the field of security and defence, based on the fostering of a conscience of sharing a same identity and goal among the concerned actors.

The road map to that European Security and Defence Culture rests upon four pillars: first, at the individual level, simplifying mobility and acquiring new know-how would greatly contribute to professional development and broadmindedness of the future officer. Moving in an open space of education would also favour his/her self-learning of the ethics and values which compose the European construction. This would apply to exchange students but also to hosting institutions’ students through social interaction. The scientific, academic and instruction staffs’ exchange would create synergies and added value resulting from interaction with new ways of thinking and doing.

Military institutions, then, would obviously benefit from this opportunity to show the excellence of their education and to demonstrate their role and visibility in the European Higher Military Education Area. Member States would have the opportunity to use these existing capacities of experts in CSDP but also in multilateral logics. This will allow MS Armed Forces to improve their abilities to work with their foreign partners and allies.

Finally, the European Union itself would very certainly benefit from the apprenticeship of “human interoperability” by the officers for the multilateral operations it would be willing to engage in.

In this sense, we propose to distinguish two main dimensions of the initiative which stimulate two correspondent aspects of an emerging security and defence culture: a formal and a normative one.

The formal dimension is meant, in our mind, to accustom students to the role they might fulfil in the European defence learning context. Although European armed forces may be involved in various forms of multinational operations such as United-Nations missions or NATO operations, flexibility shall be outlined as a major asset of the European officer’s nature. At the institutional level, that suggests notably the launching of a debate within the military institutions on the conditions of using languages such as English; adaptation of the ECTS system to vocational training; or the use of cooperation instruments such as Erasmus. The recommendations outline some of these points, as explained above, in stressing the mobility challenges. Through exchanges of knowledge and values, the initiative would trigger a first step towards “Europeanization” of defence education and consequently hopefully stimulate the emergence of a European culture of defence.

The normative dimension deals with the amount of knowledge of the students related to European defence issues, which the recommendations encourage to raise. In that sense, this point is subject for debate only at the national military institutions’ level: amount of courses related to such issues, importance of these teachings in the curricula (compulsory or not, ECTS attached, time organisation, etc.).

Besides these two main dimensions of the initiative, a third one might be outlined, which can be named as a “crossover” possibility. It gathers both the formal and normative dimensions in providing an adequate European environment to a specific CSDP education. A practical implementation of this idea might be developed through projects of combined education that are called for in the recommendations. The organisation of common academic modules by partner institutions, possibly under the aegis of the ESDC, would provide the students a common knowledge in a common environment. In that sense, academic resources might also be rationalised and optimised, with common values arising from these social interactions. This specific possibility would then combine both the two cultural aspects mentioned above and constitute an important symbol for the emergence of a European security and defence culture. The experimental Seminar on the CSDP specially addressed to the cadets and organised by Portugal is an on-site realisation of this particular aspect of the initiative.

2.3. European support for the creation of a common training in CSDP

As early as February 2009, the possibility of organizing common modules on CSDP for European cadets was defined as a priority by the implementation group of the initiative. A specific sub-group was created and started investigating the support that would certainly be required by the educational institutions in order to spread knowledge related to CSDP issues. Four directions were particularly emphasized for the work of this sub-group.

The first one was to give to the potential lecturers the information about the developments of the CSDP, the material and resources they would need when planning and organising training modules for the cadets, under the form of a “Train-the-trainers” seminar. The second one was to investigate the possible needs for accessing the Internet-Distance Learning material of the European Security and Defence College, as a support for the organisation of such modules. The ESDC could enable
the European military educational institutions’ access to its material with respect for the copyright rules applicable to this instrument. The third direction consisted in investigating the possibility of organizing this kind of seminar simultaneously in several institutions so as to have impact on a maximum number of future officers. The fourth direction, finally, required more thinking and group work. It consisted in developing training material to be provided to the willing host institutions and supporting their projects for seminars. This training material was to be based on the model of the CSDP Orientation course delivered by the ESDC in the conduct of its activities, but had to be adapted to a cadets’ audience and regularly updated so as to take into account the latest developments of the CSDP.

As such, the goal was not to limit the CSDP modules to the combined dimension of the cultural outcomes (i.e. spreading knowledge of EU policies in a European environment) but encompassed also the possibility that this module be nationally taught, possibly at the same time in several institutions. It was also clear that the ESDC would extensively support the organisation of these CSDP modules in all their aspects. Therefore, Portugal decided in April 2009 to organise a one-week seminar in September in its three Navy, Army and Air Force Academies[11] and to invite cadets from all EU Member States to participate. The pilot “Train-the-trainers” Seminar was organised and held in Brussels in early June, hosted by the Royal Military Academy of Belgium under the aegis of the ESDC, as a first visible materialization of the objectives set for the working sub-group. The Portuguese organising team of the forthcoming seminar was thus invited to participate in this pilot training, which consisted in the completion of the Internet Distance Learning (IDL) modules, presentations of the latest developments in the field of CSDP, and group-work related to the organisation of the seminar.

2.4 The Lisbon seminar on CSDP

The three organising academies decided, in accordance with the Standard Curriculum approved by the ESDC steering committee on October 2008, to divide the seminar in two parts. First, the military students had to go through an IDL module usually used for the activities of the ESDC, introducing them with the CSDP through the study of the history and context of the CSDP development (Autonomous Knowledge Unit — AKU1) and the European Security Strategy (AKU2). The completion of this module, during summer time and prior to he second part of the seminar, was essential and compulsory. Then, the 39 students, coming from 18 different Member States, were invited for a one-week residential module provided by the three Portuguese academies, the second week of September 2009. Three objectives were pursued by the organising team: providing knowledge (for the first time for most of the participants) of the CSDP, creating networking interaction between the participants and, eventually, providing them with a glance at Portuguese culture and history. In order to concretise the importance of these outcomes of a CSDP learning in a CSDP environment, the organising academies decided to award 1.5 ECTS credits to the participants.

During this residential module, the following topics were presented and discussed with the students by speakers with different backgrounds (civilian—military, academics—civil-servants, Portuguese—EU actors):

- EU History and institutions;
- EU in the world: Geopolitical characterization;
- European Security Strategy;
- EU Institutional framework;
- EU Decision-making process;
- EU Civil-Military cooperation;
- EU Capabilities development process;
- EU’s Neighbouring policy;
- EU Missions and operations — case studies;
- EU partners;
- ESDC/CSDP and the Lisbon Treaty;
- future developments of the CSDP (including the forthcoming Spanish EU Presidency projects);
- Portugal and the CSDP.

All these panels were held in English, which naturally became the language of the interaction between the young participants. The organisation took great care in putting emphasis on the social aspects of the seminar, not only in creating the best conditions through the active contribution of the hosting Nation participants (especially for guidance in Lisbon’s nightlife) but also in intentionally mixing the nationalities in the dormitories. In order to sustain these friendships created, the participants were presented the website that was created in the context of the initiative for discussions and the organising team decided to make use of the most modern non-military capacities in creating a Facebook group for these cadets.

Finally, in order to provide the participants with a glance into Portuguese culture and history, visits of some eminent places of Lisbon were organised every day after the lectures, according to a chronological organisation: from the creation of the...
State, through the era of maritime conquests, to modern times. Furthermore, the future European officers had the opportunity, while the lectures took place in the three academies, to have a first insight of the life of their fellow Portuguese cadets and to identify themselves by their belonging to different branches of the armed forces.

2.5 The outcomes of the integrated education of future CSDP actors.

In order to analyse the conduct of the Seminar with regard to the objectives undertaken by the initiative for the exchange of young officers, inspired by Erasmus, and possibly draw lessons for future organisations of similar events, the Portuguese Ministry of Defence and the three Academies asked for an external evaluation of the pilot project. This evaluation was conducted both through the use of Kirkpatrick’s model[1] of evaluation of the reaction, learning, behaviour and results of a training, and through the realisation of on-site interviews.

The IDL module, as a pedagogical tool, was particularly appreciated for the flexibility of the learning and because it was perceived by the students, often experiencing this means of training for the first time, as an excellent introduction to the CSDP which provided them with first documentation resources and the basics of the CSDP vocabulary.

Regarding the Seminar in general, the participants expressed their high level of satisfaction with the conduct of this pilot project and notably with the organisation. In this regard, the social dimension the organisers intended to give to this learning process was considered to be highly effective and supportive to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and competences. The quality of the logistical support, providing them with the conditions for learning, was equally appreciated. In general, then, the social environment contributed for a great part to the success of the Seminar, notably with regard to the role played by the hosting cadets formally and informally, and it somehow became a victim of its success, because the residential module was said to be too short.

It was a successful experience also in its knowledge achievements. The level of knowledge of the participants with regard to CSDP in general, and its progression along the Seminar, has been investigated through three similar questionnaires: one before the completion of the IDL module, a second one before the residential module and a third one at the end of the Seminar. It showed not only that the general knowledge about CSDP and its subjects considerably increased among the participants but also that this increase concerned all the participants.

Regarding skills and competences obtained through their participation, the students generally felt that the seminar helped them fostering qualifications, like the ability to undertake further research on CSDP, especially if these qualifications could be enhanced by social interaction, like their ability to communicate in a foreign language or to identify the different national visions about the development of the CSDP.

As a matter of fact, the students considered some of the topics, depending also on the method used by the speakers, too difficult for the basic, or inexistent, level of knowledge they had about CSDP. The structure of the course tried to balance the conceptual knowledge of CSDP with case studies. We recommend that in future courses there should be time reserved for discussion groups, allowing the students to analyse and discuss cases by themselves. If possible, the seminar should have two weeks, instead of one, allowing both a conceptual part and more extensive debate between students. The external evaluation is something to maintain, providing the necessary independence. The increase of length should also allow those academies who have signed an Erasmus Charter, to apply for Commission funding, within the Erasmus Intensive Programmes[1]. There is indeed a road to Commission support for the initiative.

The three objectives of the organising team of this pilot project were obviously fulfilled all the expectations formulated in the context of the initiative: training the future CSDP human resources in an CSDP environment. The question, therefore, is not if other students would have the opportunity to share this first jump into the CSDP but when.

3. IMPACT ON DEVELOPING EUROPEAN CAPABILITIES

Since the end of the Cold War, the European Union has been deploying forces into areas as diverse as the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Africa. In these theatres, the Union has been confronted with a new set of threats, different from those that came out of the Cold War: international terrorism, the

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[1] The Erasmus Intensive Programmes are intended to finance projects of short duration (e.g. seminars), from two and to six weeks. In order to apply to these intensive programmes, there is a minimum of three institutions in different MS, one of which is the organizing institution. This programme supports the mobility of students and teachers, with a maximum of 60 students and 20 teachers. Each student receives an average of € 300.00 for two weeks and the lectures an average of € 80.00 a day. Students and Teachers of the organizing institution do not receive any support, but the institution receives around € 5,000.00 for secretarial support costs.

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proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, the violation of human rights and failed states. Thus, the EU MS started to change their military structure, previously based on a territorial defence posture, ready for the bipolar conflict, to a more flexible and expeditionary force, able to be projected worldwide to face different theatres.

In 2006, the 27 EU MS had about 2 million troops on active duty, and spent about € 204 billion\(^\text{[1]}\). Therefore, one can argue that the EU has a significant set of tools at its disposal to intervene abroad. From 1995 to 2007 the number of Europeans employed in military missions and operations abroad almost doubled, increasing from 39,000 to 71,000\(^\text{[2]}\). This report by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) also argues that — in the last decade — there has been a phenomenon of increased participation, and that once a state begins its participation in international missions, it is bound to continue.

At the same time, EU MS have made profound reforms in their security sector, which led — in the overwhelming majority of cases — to the reduction of military staff and spending cuts. The workforce reduction, combined with increased participation, meant that the percentage of military personnel assigned abroad rose from 0.87% to 2.69%\(^\text{[3]}\).

Another important perspective of this analysis is the geographical area of projection, which provides us with an idea of which geographical areas are more important to the EU. From 1995 to 2000, about 85% to 89% of European forces were projected to Europe. The situation changed dramatically with the Afghan and Iraqi theatres. So, in 2005, European forces were deployed in Europe (39%), in the Middle East (32%) and in South-Central Asia (27%). During this period Africa has been the target of only 2% of European forces\(^\text{[4]}\). With this figures we can see the real geographical importance of Africa to the Europeans, and also how important are the areas that produce oil.

Regarding the death toll, between 1948 and 2007, a total of 1637 soldiers from European countries lost their lives, with the United Kingdom, France, Ireland, Sweden and Denmark at the head. In the NATO mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (including IFOR and SFOR), about 339 soldiers died. In the invasion of Iraq, 296 Europeans died, out of whom 174 were British. In Afghanistan, 194 Europeans died between 2001 and 2007.\(^\text{[5]}\) Just to provide a clear picture, in 2007 only, 37,000 Europeans died on European roads.\(^\text{[6]}\)

The operations in which European forces are involved are also characterized by a number of factors which will impact on capacity. The primary function of the European military is to be able to contain threats to international security, and therefore there is no geographical limit. The immediate implication of this feature is the ability to forecast where these forces will act. Operations in the XXI\(^\text{st}\) century are also multinational. Threats are global, and the deployment of forces occurs in the name of a threat to global security, and not to defend a particular state. Multinationality is used to provide legitimacy and bypass the limited capacity of resources of individual MS, allowing them to share costs. The multinational nature of operations requires the interoperability of forces, and personnel, allowing — at the tactical level — that two or more forces can operate together.

So far we have been characterizing the use of European military personnel. We can, therefore, state that EU military operations are multinational, and that military personnel should be able to work together in a variety of theatres and tasks. Some of this EU multinational training is already on the way, with multinational exercises in the EU Military Staff. Still, we are now working on the operational level. Within this new concept we would like to mention the role of the European Defence Agency, that is already developing this concept through a variety of projects. Recognizing some of these shortcomings in European capabilities, the Agency launched a series of programmes, which were prioritized through a relationship between the lack of current capacity and future shortages. Among the various projects, we may highlight the project of the European helicopter fleet. Currently EU MS have some 1,700 helicopters, which are not available for missions of crisis management mainly due to two reasons: the crews, who are not prepared to operate in the most demanding environments such as deserts and extremely mountainous terrain; and the fact that some helicopters are not technologically prepared to fly in these environments. The Agency developed some programmes to deal with both this issues, by providing training in 2009 for employees, and by starting, in 2010, the “Helicopter Tactics Training Programme”, which will train crews to fly in the most demanding environments. On the other hand, it is developing a programme for the adaptation of existing aircraft — through simple technological solutions — in order to operate in these theatres. The EDA is also working on a

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\(^{[4]}\) Ibid, p. 16.

\(^{[5]}\) Ibid, pp. 17-19.

Future Transport Helicopter programme, led by France and Germany, currently open to participation of other Member States. This helicopter is not expected to be operational before 2020.

But this is just an example of the need to work multinationally. Regarding air transport, 12 European countries have already agreed on the creation of a European Air Transport Fleet (EATF), which is composed by the new A400M and the current C130. A different type of pooling is now being implemented to operate this fleet, providing the availability of aircraft flight hours, joint training, logistics and maintenance. This EATF is expected to be fully operational between 2014 and 2017, and will definitely need the development of more EU multinational training. Also the pooling concept is being used to establish multinational unit for the new A400M, as part of the EATF.

In the naval dimension, EU MS are also developing some new projects, including the replacement of current sea mines counter measures, between 2018 and 2020, as well as the development of an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) that can be launched and land on the deck of a ship, thereby increasing the ability to identify other ships. Also in the naval dimension, we must note the initiative to develop a Naval Carrier Task Force, that will provide the need for further multinational training.\(^1\)

The need to further integrate EU MS military training is also presented by Hans Gerr Pöttering, who suggests a completely new approach, proposing the “Synchronized Armed Forces Europe” (SAFE) concept. This model of integration emphasizes the need for standardization of procedures and rules of engagement, taking in consideration that European militaries have to make joint and combined operations and, therefore, need joint and combined training. According to Pöttering, the joint training would increase the level of trust and interdependence, which is also needed to eliminate the differences, like the medical and social support for the military and their families in case of death or disability, between soldiers of different EU MS integrated in EU missions and operations. Pöttering suggests the development of an “EU soldier’s Statute in joint operations”.\(^1\)

Pöttering’s innovative ideas go even further. He argues that military careers should be open to any EU national despite the language barrier, as long as he proves to master the operational language. In this new framework, it would also be possible to see a Dutchman flying a RAF fighter. Some may argue that this is a futuristic vision of Europe. Still we remember that this reality already exists in some EU MS. Today, it is possible for any EU citizen to serve in the Belgian Armed Forces. Pöttering also argues that initiatives like the “Military Erasmus”, should be extended to all ranks and grades, as a cross-training package. Any military personnel assigned for international operations should have a clear idea of EU history, institutions, decision-making process, capabilities and general goals.\(^2\)

These new realities also have a large impact at MS level. EU MS need to develop a set of forces that are more deployable and interoperable. The key to achieve a better deployability and interoperability is to change the proportion of expenses: personnel should not exceed 40% of the overall defence budget, and investment plus research and development should not be less than 25%. Also a paradigmatic change is necessary. Some European countries that still have conscription — like Austria or Denmark — should abandon it as a source of recruitment. With the available budget, the Member States should reform their defence structures, designing them to be as cost-effective as possible.

Member States must increase their capability to work together, not only by encouraging their personnel to participate in multinational operations, thereby increasing the experience of their staff, but also by developing new strategies to optimize expenses. As an example, the Union has about 160 C130, more than 700 F-16 and 600 Tornados. Is it cost-effective to have 27 different places in Europe with the capability for maintenance for each aircraft, when the autonomy of a C130 (loaded) is around 3,000 Kms? With multinational logistic and support units, EU MS could save and share costs. And the key to have multinational logistic and support units is not only equipment; it is multinational training, and multinational doctrine.\(^2\)

4. CONCLUSION

The Initiative for the exchange of young officers inspired by Erasmus can make a significant contribution to the creation of a European Identity among EU MS officers and it is crucial that this initiative be undertaken and deepened by all Member States. As we have seen, one of the key factors behind interoperability is training, as well as equipment. This initiative can therefore contribute to stimulate a multinational reflex from the early years of their initial training. Future officers are eager

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to take part in education and training mobility. Regarding the students of the first common ESDP Seminar in Lisbon, we can legitimately conclude that they were highly satisfied with the experience, fostering the ties between EU MS officers and, therefore, starting to create a new type of synergies among MS Armed Forces.

As we have seen, the 27 EU MS have about 2 million troops on active duty. Still, these troops need to be able to work together, not only in terms of equipment, but also in terms of techniques, tactics and procedures. That can only be obtained by having multinational training. EU MS must come up with a comprehensive framework regarding the employment of troops, missions, operations, and starting to address not only military equipment and logistical support, but also — if not more important — an integrated set of training. We realise that this cannot be done overnight. Still, initiatives like the Lisbon Seminar are intended to inspire multinationality from the early years of a young officer’s career. That will only be the beginning. If future operations are multinational, with multinational forces, and if equipment will become gradually standardized, sooner or later EU MS will have to come up with a “Bologna Process” for military education at all levels, both initial (preparation for the first career of an officer) and advanced (career development education). Meanwhile, in the short term, we propose that every 6 months four to five MS Academies organize this type of seminar, allowing MS to send more students abroad, and receiving more students in their academies. At the end of the day, every MS and its Armed Forces will win.