International Co-operation and Defence Policies

Master’s of Politics of International Co-operation
Autumn 2019, Session 3

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Think about European strategic autonomy


• What strategy of influence to get European partners to adhere to the concept of European strategic autonomy advocated by France?

• How do armaments cooperation promote European strategic autonomy?
French military strategy:
How military force supports foreign policy

Military strategy today: threat, risk, response
25 September 2019, Oslo
Outline

• Strategic context

• Maintain its position in the global hierarchy

• Nuclear deterrence and NATO

• European strategic autonomy

• Conclusion
Context: more threats, less support, same ambitions

More threats
- Jihadist terrorism
- Russia

Less support
- Brexit
- USA
- NATO priorities

Same ambitions
- Maintain its position in the global hierarchy
Question: France's ability to act on international affairs

• How can France maintain its own military action capacity, while strengthening its international partnerships insofar as it ‘cannot, of course, face these challenges alone and everywhere’ (Strategic Review)?
The three pillars of France’s military strategy

NATO

Nuclear deterrence

European strategic autonomy
Nuclear deterrence and NATO: essential but insufficient

• The nuclear deterrence military strategy
  • is the ‘keystone of France's defence strategy’
  • is not suitable for a wide range of threats and crises

• The United States has redefined its strategic priorities towards Asia
  • European states are being forced to increase their defence efforts

• France's proposal to address these strategic gaps is based on the concept of ‘European strategic autonomy’
European strategic autonomy: unidentified strategic object?

• French strategic autonomy and European strategic autonomy

• ‘Differentiated’ European governance
  • Multilateral
  • Minilateral
  • Bilateral

• ‘Flexilaterial’ policy
Operational challenge: an old recipe in new bottles

• ‘What Europe lacks most today, this Europe of Defence, is a **common strategic culture.** (...)’

• But I propose now to try to build this culture together, by proposing a **European intervention initiative** to develop this shared strategic culture.’
Capacity challenge: the EDF, the $x$ factor?

Table 1. European instruments and projects to implement the French military strategy in the capability field

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Varieties of cooperation</th>
<th>Instrument/Project</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>States</th>
<th>Companies (leading partners)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multilateral</td>
<td>‘Defence package’</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Article 42.7 TUE</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>European defence fund (EDF)</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PESCO</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>EUR25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minilateral</td>
<td>RPAS</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>France, Germany, Italy, Spain</td>
<td>Airbus Defence and Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FCAS</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>France, Germany, Spain</td>
<td>Dassault Aviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilateral</td>
<td>KNDS</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>France, Germany</td>
<td>Krauss-Maffei Wegmann, Nexter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>MGCS</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>France, Germany</td>
<td>KNDS et/ou Rheinmetall</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC/ASW</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>France, Britain</td>
<td>MBDA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion: Leadership and then?

- Wolfgang Ischinger, President of the Munich Security Conference:

- ‘The question is whether, and how, France could be prepared to strategically put its nuclear capacity to the benefit of the entire European Union. In concrete terms: France's nuclear commitment options should not only cover its own territory, but also the territory of its partners within the EU’