

Smart Defence in An Austere World of Caveats:



Lessons from Afghanistan and Libya

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Outline

- The Premise of Smart Defence
- Constrained Partnership in Afghanistan
- Libya and the Limits of NATO
- The Enduring Sources of Constraints
- Implications for Smart Defence

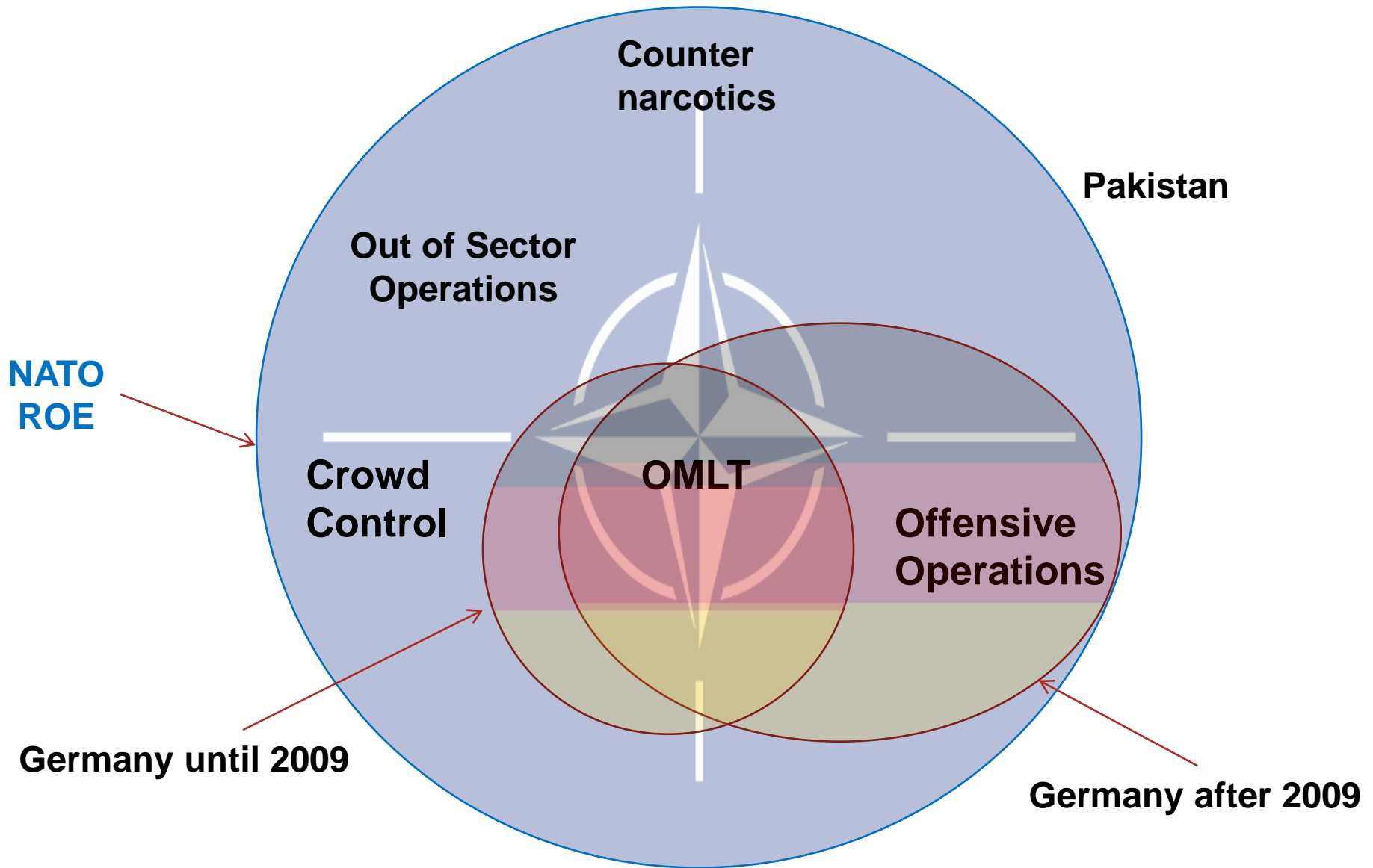
The Premise of Smart Defence



- Fiscal Pressures Require Sharper, Shared Decisions
- **Prioritization:**
- **Specialization:** By Default vs By Design
- **Cooperation:**
 - “**Strategic sharing** by those who are **close** in terms of geography, culture or common equipment”
 - Half-right: **Close But Not Quite**

Constrained Partnership in Afghanistan

- **Caveats:** Restrictions on Mission, Ops, Etc.
 - Area of Operations? Offensive Ops? Night Ops?
- **Phone Calls:** Calling Home for Permission
- **Limited Capabilities:**
 - Size of Deployment: Greece? NZ
 - Helos, Helos, Helos
- **Varying Duration:**
 - Dutch (2010), Canadians (2011) gone;
 - Aussies (2013?), NZ (2013) going;
 - Whose Remains Past 2014?



Uneven Burden-Sharing

Killed In Action



- Albania
- Australia
- Belgium
- Canada
- Czech
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Georgia
- Germany
- Hungary
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Norway
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- South Korea
- Spain
- Sweden
- Turkey
- UK
- US



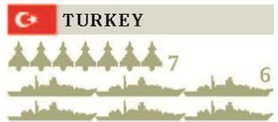
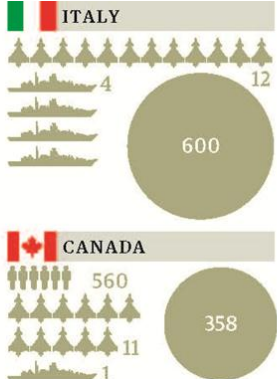
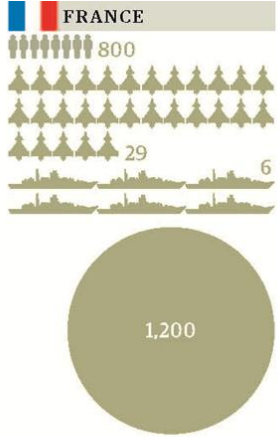
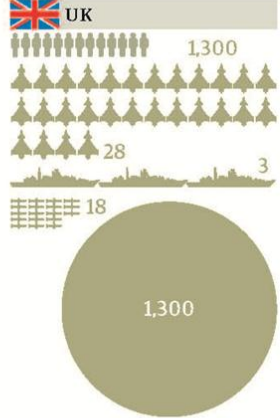
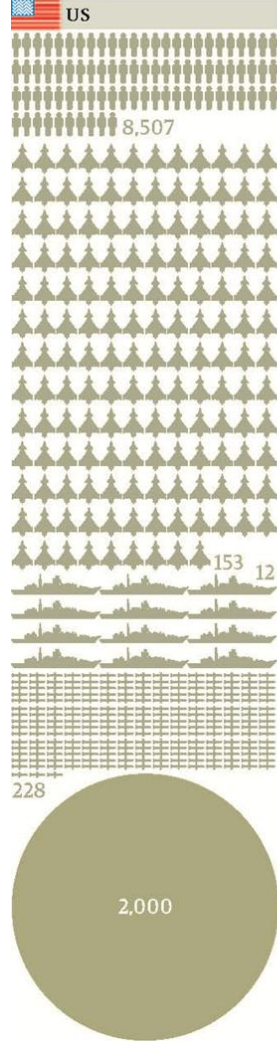
Libya and the Limits of NATO

- The **Politics**: France Pushes, Germany Opts Out
- Varied Participation:
 - About Half Participated in Naval Embargo
 - NFZ: Some Flying Non-Bombers
 - Only eight NATO members dropped bombs
 - Deliberate vs Dynamic Targeting

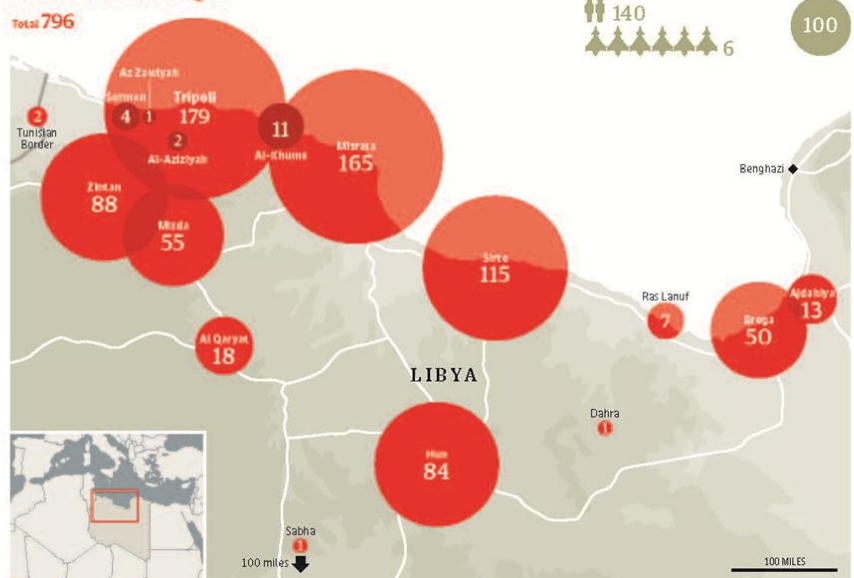
Operation Unified Protector

Coalition forces and sorties flown

Personnel (where known)
 Aircraft (all types)
 Ships (all types)
 Cruise missiles (expended)
 Sorties flown (to 5 May)



Attacks on named targets



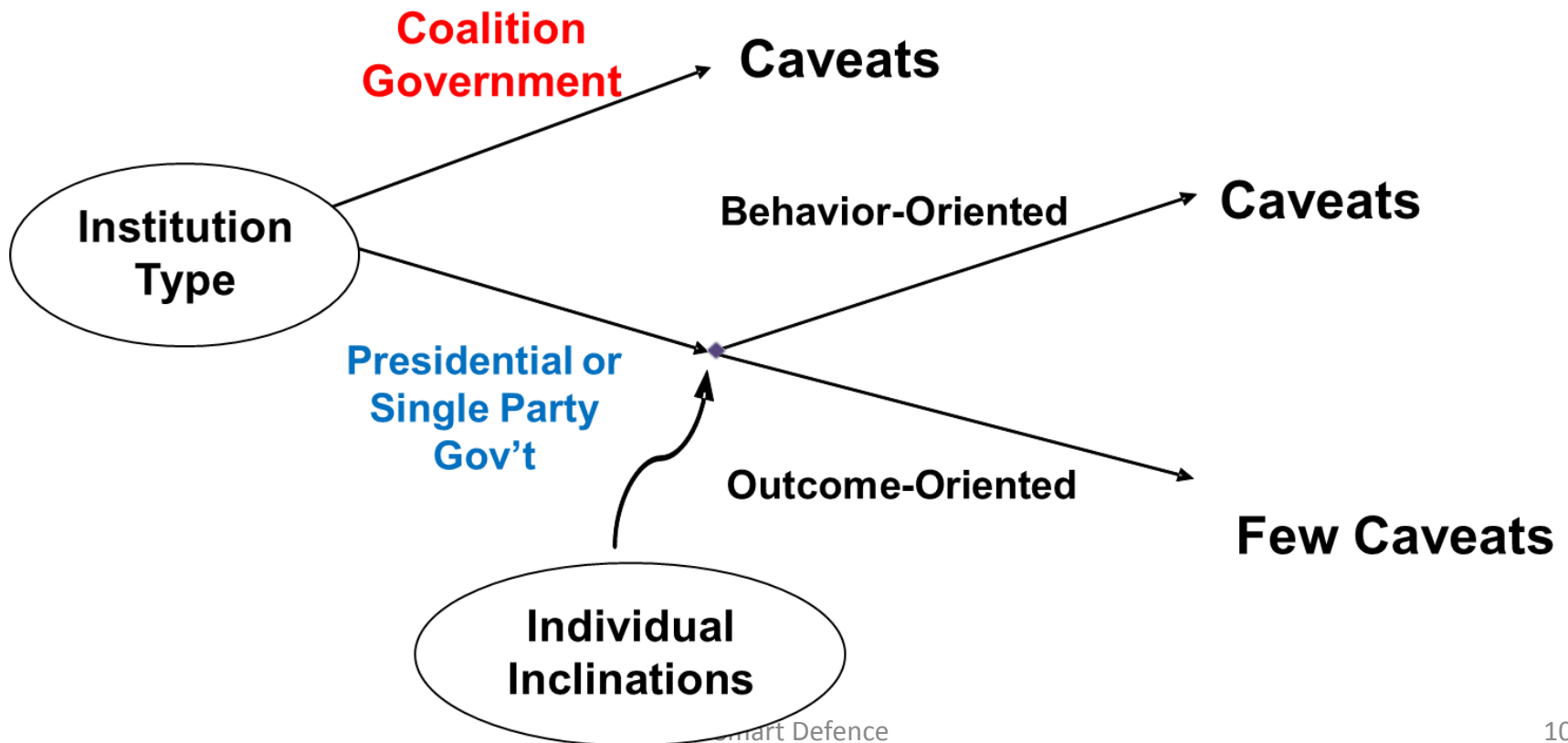
SOURCE: NATO

Operation Unified Protector

Country	Institutions	Ideology	Maximum Effort
Belgium	Caretaker government	NA	Air Strikes
Germany	<i>Majority Coalition</i>	<i>Right-Center</i>	<i>None</i>
Greece	Majority Coalition	Left	Naval Embargo
Italy	Majority Coalition	Right-Center	Air Strikes
Norway	<i>Majority Coalition</i>	<i>Left-Center</i>	<i>Air Strikes</i>
UK	Majority Coalition	Right-Center	Air Strikes +
Canada	Minority → Majority Parliament	Right	Air Strikes
Denmark	Minority Coalition	Right-Center	Air Strikes
Netherlands	Minority Coalition	Right-Center	No Fly Zone
Sweden	Minority Coalition	Right-Center	No Fly Zone
Spain	Minority Parliament	Left-Center	No Fly Zone
Turkey	Majority Parliament	Right-Center	Naval Embargo
France	Premier-Presidential	Right-Center	Air Strikes +
Bulgaria	Premier-Presidential	Right	Naval Embargo
Romania	Premier-Presidential	Right-Center	Naval Embargo
Poland	<i>Premier-Presidential</i>	<i>Right-Center</i>	<i>None</i>
Portugal	<i>Premier-Presidential</i>	<i>Left → Broad</i>	<i>None</i>
United States	Presidential	Left-Center	Air Strikes

The Enduring Sources of Constraints

- Institutions:
 - Veto Player Logic
 - Presidents vs. Prime Ministers w & w/o Coalitions



The Enduring Sources of Constraints

- Institutions:
 - Veto Player Logic
 - Presidents vs. Prime Ministers w & w/o Coalitions
- Parties
 - Afghanistan: Center-Right Imposed Fewer Restrictions
 - Libya: R2P Gave Left Cover (plus Post-Bush)

Implications for Smart Defence

“Strategic sharing by those who are close ...”

- **Close** Is Not About Geography But
 - Institutions & Parties
 - Personalities (Chirac vs. Sarkozy)
- Anglosphere ≠ Language But **Institutions:** Empowered Executives
 - Majority Government
 - Minority Govt’s with Lame Oppositions
 - France in the Anglosphere?
- Watch the **Xenophobes:** Danes vs. Dutch

The Big Challenge

- **Defence Planning is Long-Term →**



- **Today's Most Suitable Partner Not So Much in 5/10/25 Years**