

ISODARCO 2013

New Military Technologies:  
Implications for Strategy and  
Arms Control

**“Views from Europe”**

**Fabrizio Coticchia**

*Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, Pisa*

[f.coticchia@sssup.it](mailto:f.coticchia@sssup.it)

# “Views from Europe”: The case of Italy

## SUMMARY:

- *Premise*: The evolution of Italian defence policy
- The case of Libya (2011): **Italian approach and military capabilities**
- **Italian defence policy and new military technologies: the current debate**
- Focus: drones, air defence and bases
- Perspectives

# Premise:

## The evolution of Italian defence policy

- **1989-92: “A tale of two crises”** (international/domestic)
- The end of Italy’s reluctance to deploy troops abroad. **The new dynamism in the post-Cold War IFP.**
- **Italian parties’ attitude towards the international use of force changed: military instrument as crucial tool of foreign policy** (Bellucci, 1998). **A post-Cold War consensus.**
- The new bipartisan consensus has allowed a constant involvement of the armed forces abroad, promoting the image of Italy as **‘international peacekeeper’** (Battistelli, 2004).

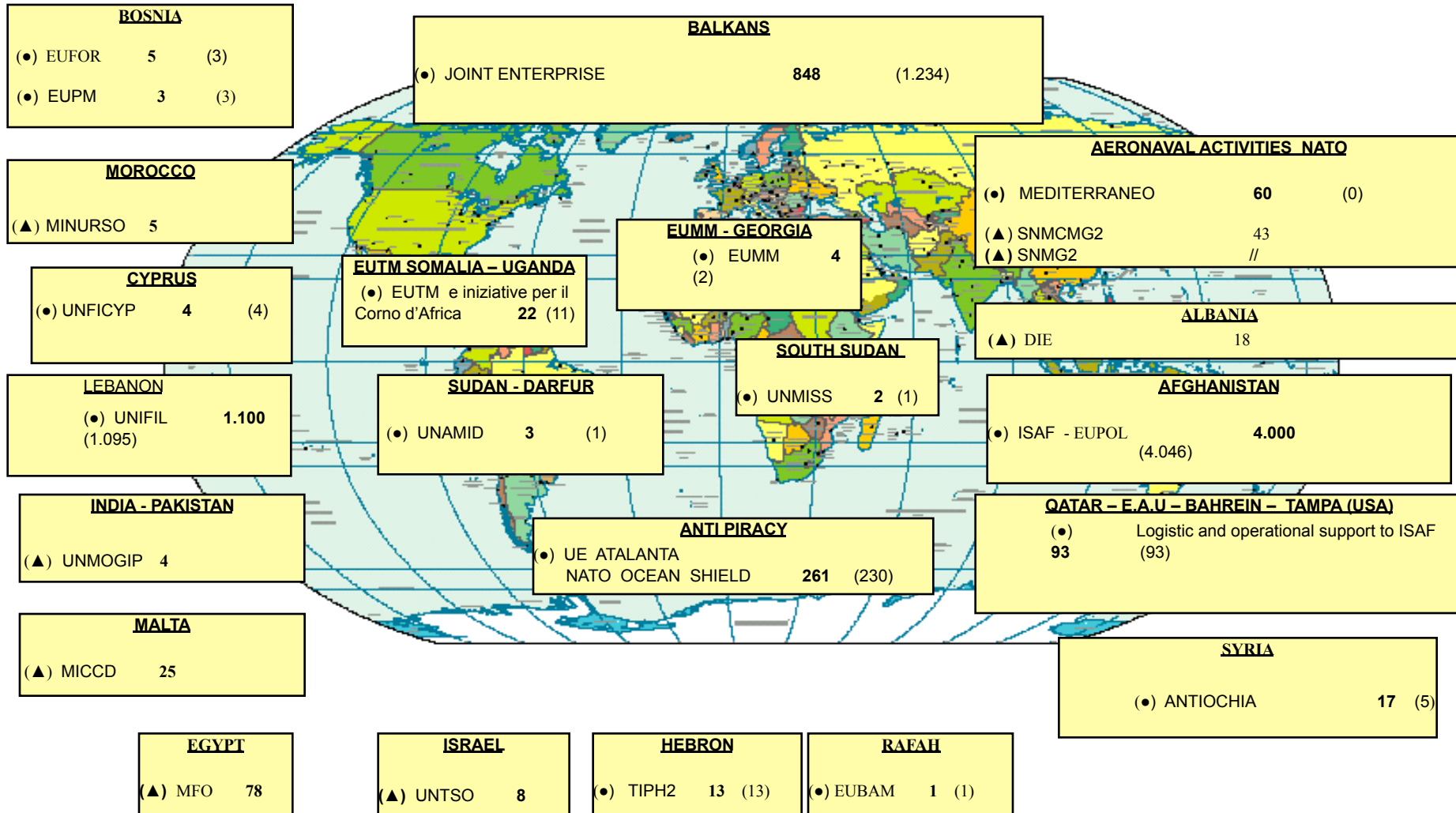
# “International peacekeeper”

- Bipartisan consensus has been built on shared values consistent with the post-war political culture concerning foreign and defence policy. **Conceptual frames such as multilateralism and peace, which were fundamental guidelines of Italian foreign policy during the Cold War, still predominant in national strategic culture** (Ignazi, Giacomello, Coticchia, 2012)
- Despite the growing international activism of the armed forces, **the military dimension has constantly been neglected in the political debate of the post-bipolar era.** Public discussion over the military aspects of intervention has been vague.

# FIGURES

## Italian Military Operations Abroad (May 15th 2012)

Troops contributions: 6.924 (25 "activities" in 27 countries/areas)



# The case of Libya (2011)

## Italian approach and **military capabilities**

- Only six European countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, and the UK) contributed to strike missions.
- Burden Sharing? The air campaign has highlighted shortages in ISTAR capabilities (Intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition, reconnaissance), since they depended heavily on US support.
- Old programmes? The case of Tornado
- The (absent) role of the EU

# The case of Libya (2011): Italian approach and **military capabilities**

The Italian involvement in Libyan crisis is pretty adherent to such perspective on the **'national way' to military operations abroad:**

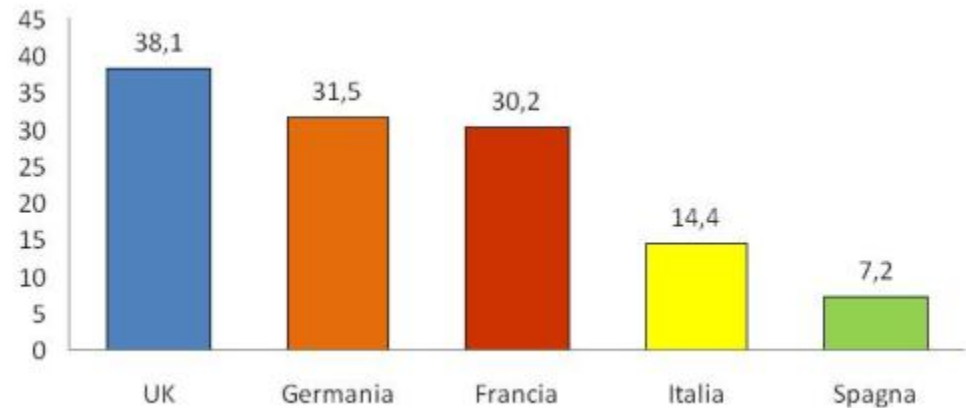
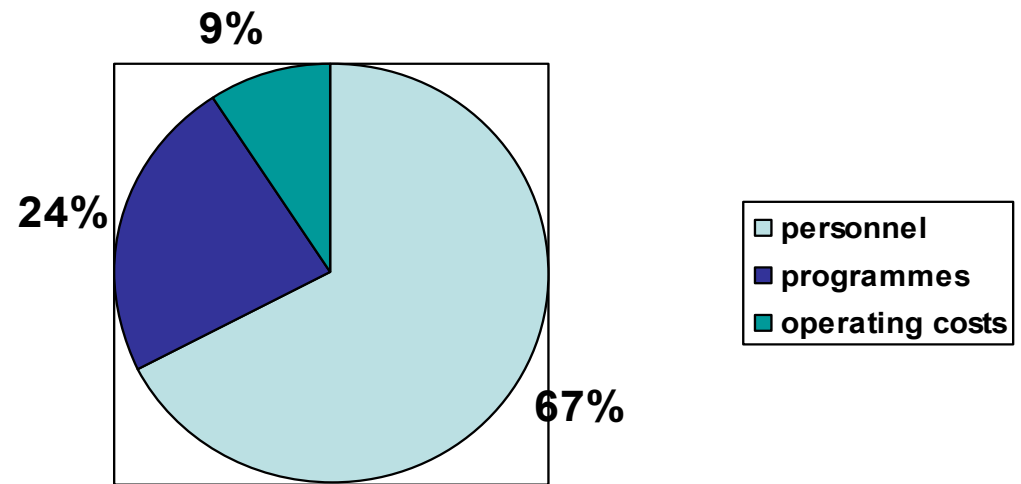
- multilateralism
- peace rhetoric
- substantial consensus by the main political parties to the mission
- scarce information
- new threats.

# The case of Libya (2011): Italian approach and **military capabilities**

- Deploying a carrier and eight other ships, **Italy took a leading role in the NATO operation**
- A preeminent responsibility assumed in the NATO maritime operations (which were officially led by an Italian admiral)
- Italy contributed to OUP in a considerable way, providing **seven air bases** in its territory, employing the **best assets of the national Air Force** (i.e., Tornado, F16 Falcon, Eurofighter 2000, AMX, Predator B, AV-8B)
- Air force: 1900 missions (10% of NATO's air campaign, after US, UK and France), 456 air strike.



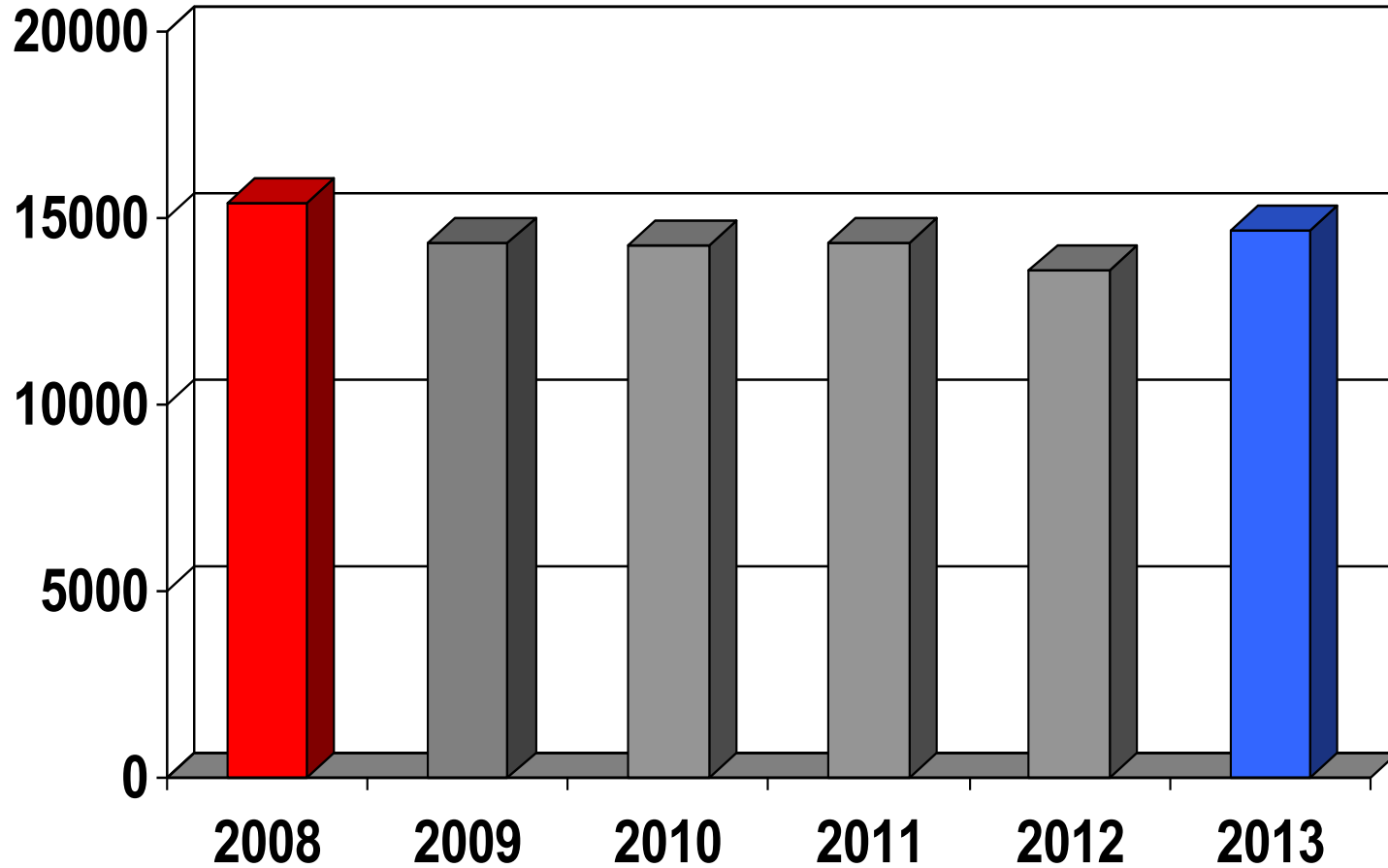
# Italian defence policy and new military technologies: the current debate



# Italian defence policy and new military technologies: the current debate

- **Reform of the Italian defence (Law 12-2012):**
  - **Spending review...but the budget will increase**
  - An old and inadequate model (from 190.000 to 150.000). Looking for an equilibrium
  - Bases (from 150 to 15);
  - Generals and sergeants;
  - Duplications;
  - **Arms control** (also for next programmes?)
- Missions
- **Military programmes? Military export? Lack of information**

# Defence Budget



# Italian defence policy and new military technologies: the current debate

## Military programmes:

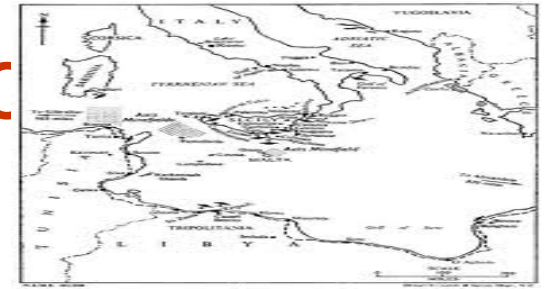
- **F-35**, a lively debate. F-35 instead of Tornado, AMX e AV-8B Harrier
- Costs and technological problems (STOLV)
- Canada, Norway and Australia suspended decision over F-35. Italy: from 130 to 90
- *Eurofighter Typhoon*
- Satellite programmes *Cosmo and Sicral*
- Frigate *Freem* and UAV *Eagle*
- Attack Helicopter *Mangusta*
- Armoured vehicles *Centauro, Freccia, Lince*

# Italian defence policy and new military technologies: the current debate

## Criticism:

- Looking for a national strategy...
- Operating costs
- Waste and duplication (e.g. housing, surplus, no tender, retirement funds, etc.) still present. Heritage of Cold War
- **New funds for long term military programmes. The absent role of the Parliament** (approval only at the very beginning of the process). Examples of Eurofighter, Freem, Cavour...Lack of transparency on military programmes
- Finmeccanica and military industry (1977, 150 enterprises, 1994 Finmeccanica holds 70% of the market)

# Focus: drones, air defence and bases



- Crucial role of Predator AV0002 in Afghanistan. Supporting air strikes.
- *USAF Unmanned Aircraft Systems Flight Plan 2009-2047* (greater role of UAVs) and Sicily, Italy:
  - Sigonella (base for Global Hawk, Predator and Reaper)
  - Niscemi (Mobile User Objective System - MUOS, Satellite Communications Station, for US Navy)
- Doubts on MEADS (Medium Extended Air Defense System). Pressure by Italy (bilateral cooperation with US, costs, consortium lead by Lockheed Martin, prime contractor also for MUOS and F-35)

# Perspectives

- NATO bases in Italy are strategic (Africa)
- The heritage of long term military programmes
- Contribution to the European defence and security.  
Less than 0,5% of the European soldiers are employed in the CSDP missions
- What about Finmeccanica?
- Soldiers in the streets and police forces abroad?  
Paying for the soldiers in case of natural disasters?
- Bipartisan consensus?
- Definition of national defence model (post 2001).  
Italy as global power....