



# Future Force

Conference 2015



## Conference Report 2015

Engaging uncertainty through  
shock-resistant partnerships

Soest, the Netherlands | 23 – 25 March 2015









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shock-resistant partnerships

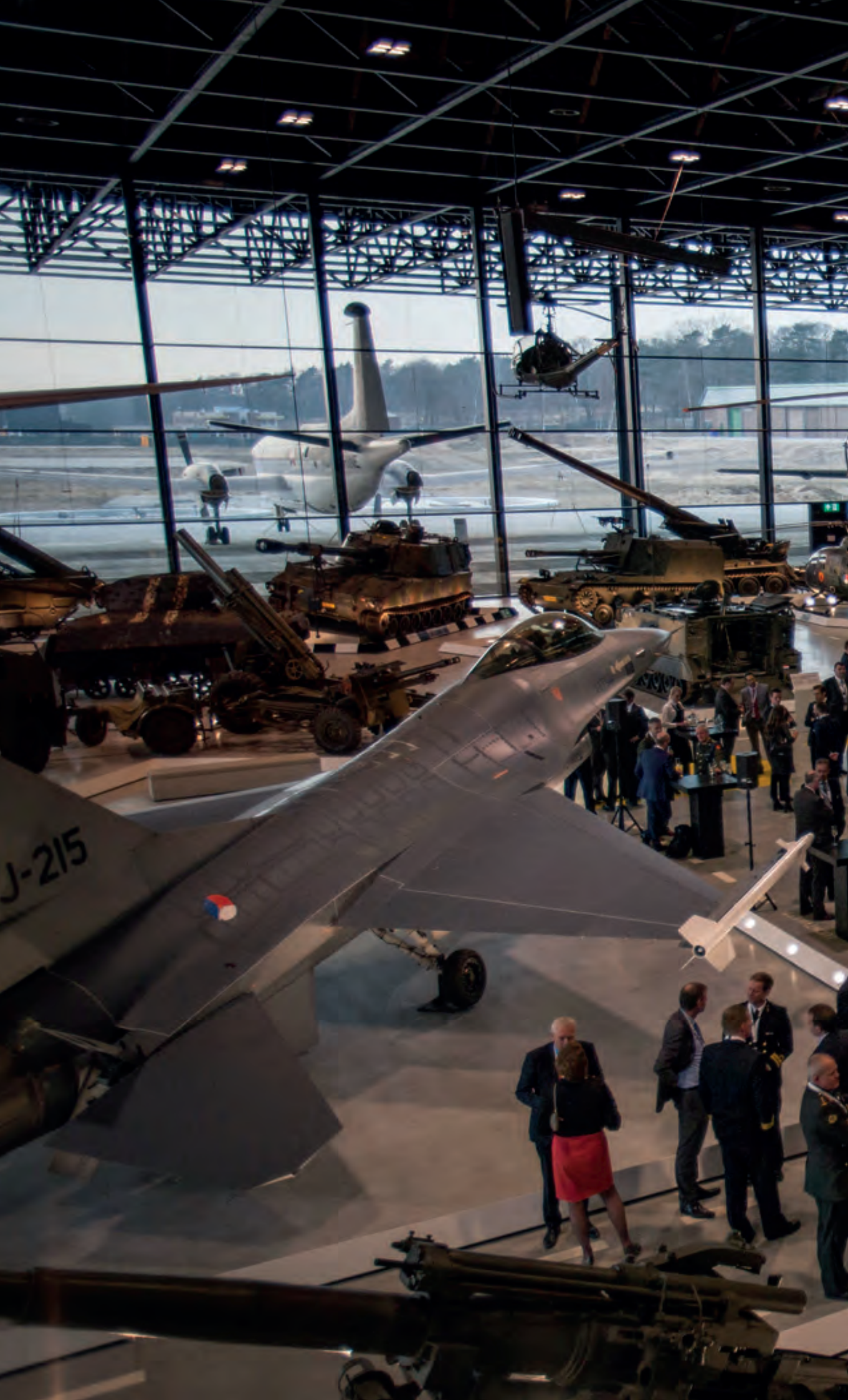
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# Table of Contents

A word from the Organising Hosts	11
Introduction FFC 2015 by Professor Jonathan Holslag	14
Conference Day One	17
Conference Day Two	51
Conference programme	90
Organisers and Sponsors	92









The aim of day one was to set the scene and to make sense of the confusing situation throughout the world as we face it today. The guiding questions were: Can we anticipate what the future security landscape will be like? Can we build security societies and partnerships that are more resilient? The day was introduced by conference chairman Hans van Grieken (Capgemini). Jonathan Holslag (Free University Brussels) provided substantive input and set the scene by drawing the Big Picture.

# A word from the Organising Hosts

## Defensive eco-system

The complex security challenges we are facing today in the West cannot be solved by military means alone. This is the reason why, together with our partners, we organised the two-day Future Force Conference in March 2015. The aim was twofold: to make clear that we are all part of a defensive eco-system and to successfully launch a new phase in increased and improved cooperation.

In this day and age, internal and external threats affect all of us in some way. Examples are paralysing cyber attacks, the build-up of conventional forces, gruesome terrorist attacks, or misinformation distributed through social media such as Twitter and Facebook. Our opponents have a very broad range of instruments at their disposal to make our lives difficult.

As the protectors of our society, we therefore need to join forces, more than ever before. We managed to do just that during the Future Force Conference. More than 500 key figures from the security domain convened in the National Military Museum in Soesterberg; people from the industry and the military leadership of NATO partners, but also representatives of international knowledge institutes, non-governmental organisations, influential politicians and multinational companies.

We talked about the challenges facing us and explored the areas where we can join forces. Keywords used were partnership and innovation. A sound foundation was also laid for taking new steps. Steps that may require further investments. An example of such a step is the strengthening of our intelligence assets and our sensors.

You will find the results of the conference in the Future Force Conference Report. I hope these results will be helpful to you in further developing our defensive eco-system, which will in turn help us sustain our credibility, to anticipate developments and guarantee that we will continue to innovate. For there can be no future without security.

I count on you.

Chief of Defence

General Tom Middendorp

# A word from the managing director Defence, Safety and Security, TNO

## Henk Geveke

These are turbulent times for Defence and Security Organisations in our societies. As this conference report clearly shows, security is no longer something that happens “elsewhere”. TNO has been a strategic partner of the Netherlands Ministry of Defence since the early fifties of the last century. We have witnessed, together with our partner, the decline of the bipolar Cold war era, followed by a relatively stable interlude of Pax Americana, which quickly turned into multipolar struggles around the globe. The rise of China and India, the return of territorial disputes close to Europe, the inflammatory nature of the Arab spring, climate change and globalization – these are just some of the themes that were profoundly addressed at the Future Force Conference 2015.

Research and Development for Defence capability building is deeply influenced by these turbulent developments, and there is a strongly felt need for continuous innovation that somehow manages to stay ahead of the security threats that emerge. It is important to recognize the need for true partnerships and the importance of information and knowledge sharing between government, knowledge institutes and industry – the triple helix. Open innovation is rapidly gaining strength and proving its value in other domains, such as ICT and smart industries. One of the findings of the FFC2015 is that we need to explore with our partners in the triple helix the value of open innovation in the defence domain. Issues to be addressed are intellectual property rights (IPR), regulatory constraints, measures of effectiveness and performance, improving mass and focus and, perhaps most of all, trust. Partners need a reliable government in order to be able to allocate their scarce resources to innovate their portfolios tailored to the exact need of the customer. This reliability can be translated into many mechanisms, such as the Defence Industry Strategy, pre-competitive information sharing, joint industry programs, pre-feasibility studies and joint trade missions.

TNO is committed to the future of our common strategic knowledge basis. Its mission is to connect people and knowledge relevant to the innovation of the security of our society at large. Its research is focused on improving the

competitive edge of our industrial partners, while remaining an independent position. One of the commitments TNO has made is to contribute to the Future Force Campaign leading to the next conference. TNO, together with FME, will host a high-level round table on the subject of open innovation in the defence realm, in November 2015. TNO will also contribute to any follow-on campaign activities in close coordination with its partners. The tremendous success of the FFC2015 was a direct result of excellent cooperation with all triple helix partners. Our common security can only be ascertained if we continue to improve this cooperation!

# Introduction FFC 2015 by Professor Jonathan Holslag

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, defence has become the outcast of European politics. With the threat gone, so disappeared the incentive for political leaders to invest, to invest in modern equipment, in readiness, in well-trained troops, and, most of all, in a proper analysis of important global trends. “Unless they are from the police, you don’t win elections with uniforms anymore,” a British Member of Parliament stated.

Several important events have casted doubt upon this observation: the Ukrainian Crisis, with the tragic downing of flight MH17, the offensive of ISIS in the Middle East, the spreading of maritime piracy, important cyber incidents and the acceleration of military modernization all around Europe. This conference confirmed unequivocally that it is time again to take defence seriously.

## **Let there be no mistake: a strong defence starts with a strong society.**

This is undoubtedly Europe’s most pressing challenge. We have to come up with a new project of society building, one that elevates the market so that it again creates more benefits for the people, one that encourages citizens to take their responsibility but also rewards them if do so, and one harnesses the power to advance our core values instead of discarding them.

Building a more coherent and resilient society will be a precondition to influence countries around Europe, to share more benefits with them, and to build new partnerships. But it is also a requirement to generate the resources to defend us against threats. Because even if Europe can chart the way towards new prosperity and retrieves its legitimacy to induce positive changes in other parts of the world, the transition is going to be tough and turbulent.

The pursuit of a resilient society has thus to be flanked by the construction of a resilient defence. As challenges are becoming more numerous and the world in which the next generations of Europeans will have to grow up becomes more uncertain, we owe it to them, our children and grandchildren, to maintain the ultimate tools to ward off threats and to maintain security.



The baseline is that all European countries have to invest more in hard power. This conference was unanimous in the observation that Europe's capabilities in this regard are falling dangerously low. Yes, we still spend a lot on defence, but disproportionately on personnel, so that our hardware risks to lag behind in the modernization curve – both in quantity and in quality. Being it Europe in its partnership with the United States, or certain member states in the European context: nobody can excel in doing nothing, nobody can specialize in spending cuts.

**Security remains a shared responsibility.**

Hard capabilities and budgets are one concern. Yet another priority is to become more inclusive. Security is no preserve of soldiers and generals. This conference made that case compellingly. Hybrid threats, for instance, can only be countered by a hybrid strategy, which includes the whole cyber community, works side-by-side with diplomats to shape new rules, reaches out to news media to counter propaganda, and even embraces education to empower our youngsters in the new ruthless battle for hearts and minds.

Efficiency is going to be decisive. Efficiency can be advanced through a more inclusive networked security strategy, but also through synergy with the corporate world. The Dutch golden-triangle – formed by defence, companies and government – stands out as an example. It can be optimized. Defence could learn from companies to manage and maintain its capabilities better, but also work with companies to develop and manage them collectively.

The onus is now on us to turn these many important suggestions into practice. I hope that we can meet again in a few years, probably to come to the conclusion that the security outlook is still uncertain and challenging, but hopefully with the observation that we are better able to handle it, that have made progress in building a more resilient society alongside more resilient security capabilities.









# Conference Day One



### **General Tom Middendorp**

*Chief of Defence Netherlands  
Armed Forces*

Tom Middendorp was born in Rheden, the Netherlands, in 1960. His military career began in 1979 at the Royal Military Academy in Breda, after which he attended a oneyear specialist training course at the Engineer Training Centre in Vught, North Brabant. In 1984, he was posted to Ermelo, where he was given command of an armoured engineer platoon. He held this command for two years. Towards the end of 1986, he was transferred to Breda, where he joined a regional directorate of the Defence Infrastructure Agency as head of project management. In 1989 he assumed command of an engineer company in Seedorf, northern Germany.

From mid-1992 to 1994, Tom Middendorp attended the army's Advanced Military Studies course. This was followed by a posting to the Army Staff, where he was in charge of developing and implementing new infrastructure policy in the light of the abolition of conscription. On

completion of this posting, in 1996 he and his family left for the United States, where he attended the one-year course at the Command and General Staff College. In 1997 he was assigned the post of military assistant to the Deputy Chief of the Netherlands Defence Staff. Following this posting, he was reassigned to Münster, Germany, as chief of the National Planning Bureau for 1 German/Netherlands Corps in the period from 1999 to mid 2001. After this, he was given command of 101 Engineer Battalion in Wezep. As first commander of this battalion, he was responsible for setting it up and during the next two and a half years commanded it through 14 deployments in Bosnia, Macedonia, Afghanistan and Iraq.

After his promotion to colonel, he was posted to the Ministry of Defence as policy coordinator at the Principal Directorate of General Policy Affairs. In this posting, he advised the Minister of Defence on national deployment of the armed forces and established several cooperation agreements between the Ministry of Defence and other ministries. Towards the end of 2006, Tom Middendorp was deployed to Afghanistan as Senior Political Adviser and Deputy NATO Senior Civil Representative (SCR), standing in for the SCR on frequent occasions. In mid-2007 he started a short assignment with the Royal Netherlands Army

# Opening speech

## General Tom Middendorp

Following a video that stressed the vital importance of cooperation to combat security threats, Dutch Chief of Defence General Tom Middendorp opened the Conference. “It was the worst of times, it was the best of times,” he quoted Dickens in pointing out the contradictions of the way we live now. On the one hand, we live in the best era human history has ever seen, with healthcare, freedom and technology being more advanced than ever before. But even in times of peace there is still the tyranny of the unknown. Indeed, if we knew what the future looked like we would have never repeated the mistakes of the past. Hence, even unlikely scenarios need to be taken seriously.

The downing of MH17 came without any prior warning, and was a harsh wake-up call. As Michael Ignatieff said, “clarity seems to follow in the silence.” But while various military options were considered in response, the focus was eventually put on bringing home the victims. While we witness unimaginable images about hostages being beheaded, we cannot simply ignore what happens elsewhere and enjoy our happy lives. Inaction is not an option. We are facing ever more uncertainties based on megatrends. The clock is ticking. We are dealing with transnational hybrid threats: they are everywhere, yet they are nowhere. Borders or legal frameworks do not suffice. Subversive means of warfare can be just as effective as using guns. However, there is no silver bullet to solve all of the issues that we face. There is no excuse for inaction, we are in this together. In fact, we are all part of a defence ecosystem, driven by internal and external dynamics. We need to become more flexible in our modes of cooperation, and work with Google or Apple. But we also need to explore more informal options, and seek cooperation based on common interests. This will help us get a better view of the kind of warfare we can expect, the game-changers that drive technology, and shows us the ways in which opportunities can be exploited.

Finally, three points for consideration: one, there is no exclusively military option. Partnering with actors in civil society in a networked way is always needed. Secondly, we must be alert and receptive to the application of new weapons, including smart non-kinetic weapons. Three, human capital remains the key asset of our future force. This sets us apart from our enemies. And this is why we need shock resistant partnerships. Wisdom can prevail over foolishness, and clever solutions over hasty answers. And if we cannot give these answers, who else can?

as head of the Management Support Division, after which he was given command of 13 Mechanised Brigade in Oirschot on 11 January 2008.

In the period from February to August 2009, he was again deployed to Afghanistan, this time as commander of the multinational Taskforce Uruzgan (TFU 6). On 24 December 2009, Tom Middendorp was appointed Director of Operations at the Defence Staff in The Hague. On 1 January 2012, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in preparation for his future role as Chief of Defence. On 28 June 2012, he accepted command of the armed forces and as of that date General Middendorp holds the highest military position within the Netherlands Defence organisation.



#### **Jonathan Holslag**

*Post-doctoral researcher, Vrije Universiteit Brussel*

Jonathan Holslag works on international relations at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels. He has published widely on geopolitics, Asia, and other subjects. Besides his academic

work, Jonathan has advised various international organizations, European institutions, and large companies. He is a frequently solicited speaker and opinion leader.



#### **Hans van Grieken**

*Vice President Business Innovation Capgemini*

Hans van Grieken is a Vice President Business Innovation at Capgemini and Executive Lecturer at Nyenrode International Business School. He delivers about 120 speeches worldwide on a yearly basis, covering 26 different markets and sectors including the defence and public security sector. Through this international exposure to numerous markets/trends, Van Grieken is frequently consulted for his ideas around transferring Global Innovation Best Practices from one sector to the other.

# The Big Picture

## Jonathan Holslag

The introductory remarks by Jonathan Holslag (Free University Brussels) aimed to set the scene by offering a broader perspective on global future trends and providing a better understanding of international relations wavering and swinging between peace and war, growth and recession, democratization and political decay.

Throughout history, man in his views about the world has always oscillated between cosmopolitan optimism and realist scepticism, because progress has always coincided with competition, setbacks, and fear. Today, decision makers are torn between the cheeriest stories of growth, democratization, and peace, and the gloomiest forewarnings of recession, political decay, and war. The question remains whether we can anticipate in which way the pendulum will swing.

We live in times of unprecedented economic integration, yet public unrest is on the rise. China and India faced over a hundred thousand riots in 2014 alone, showing that the societies of the BRICS are based on fragile development models. At the same time, attachment to freedom and elections in Africa often leads to violence, while only a third of the European electorate has confidence in its leaders. A second fundamental threat is that growth now brings fewer jobs, and becomes less labour intensive. In turn, this produces more social instability. A third trend is scarcity. While there is no need to be Malthusian, there is a growing gap between technological solutions and our ability to implement them. Some solutions are simply too costly, or supporting infrastructure is missing. The result is anarchy inside and between states.

Increasing competition is reflected in five ways: one, economic power politics is on the way back, but not in the shape of sheer protectionism. Two, there is increasing resource mercantilism. Three, there is a silent battle over rules: rules on energy, standard-setting and so on. Four, military power politics are re-emerging: spending is increasing in a climate of growing nationalism. Finally, there is the militarization of 'new' spheres, being space and cyber.

The result is a new gunpowder moment, and we need to ask ourselves whether we will embrace these new forms of power politics. This is why we need to consolidate the European heartland: Germany, France, NL, UK, and some others, but we also need integration with our periphery. EU expansion happened for geopolitical reasons and now we need to help the periphery through the economic slump. We are surrounded by an 'arc of disquiet', by a growing population of 850mn, while the European population is shrinking. Now, military spending in the arc exceeds spending in the EU, with orders for military hardware being bigger in the arc than in Europe. Around this arc, there is a 'wedge of hardship', made up of Africa and South Asia. Internal migration in this region will be 150mn in the years to come, and only a sliver of that appears on European shores. The presence of raw materials often does not lead to prosperity, but rather instability and environmental degradation. Confronted with a popular distrust and new power configurations, will Europe be able to become a flexible player on a new chessboard with the U.S., China and others? In the end, we cannot continue to rely on the U.S., but we need to take our own security seriously.







*Table*  
*Discussion / Panel*

From Trends To Theaters



### **Jean-Claude Trichet**

*Former Chairman ECB*

Born in Lyon in 1942, Jean-Claude Trichet is an honorary Inspecteur général des Finances and Ingénieur civil des Mines. He is a graduate of the Institut d'études politiques de Paris, of the Université de Paris (in economics) and of the Ecole nationale d'administration. Jean-Claude Trichet has been awarded honorary doctorates by several universities.

Jean-Claude Trichet was President of the European Central Bank (2003-2011). He was Governor of Banque de France (1993-2003) and under secretary of the French Treasury (1987-1993). He was President of the Paris Club (debt rescheduling) (1985-1993), President of the European Monetary Committee (1992-1993), President of the Group of 10 Central Banks Governors and President of the Global economy meeting in Basel (2002-2011). He was named "Person of the Year" by the Financial Times in 2007, n° 5 of the "world most powerful" in Newsweek list in 2008 and one of the "Most influential people in the world" by Time Magazine (2011).



### **Souad Mekhennet**

*Journalist Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

Souad Mekhennet is an award winning journalist, author and film maker. She works for the Washington Post, German TV and writes guest pieces for other international outlets. Ms.Mekhennet is also a visiting fellow at Harvard, Johns Hopkins and the Geneva Center for Security Policy. She has covered security from 9/11 until this day and is one of the few journalists who had access to the leadership circles of Al Qaeda, Taliban, and ISIS. Mekhennet has reported on security, terrorism, minorities and women from Europe, North Africa, Middle East and Gulf States. She was selected as a "Young global leader" 2014 by the World Economic Forum and "40 under 40" European leaders. She holds a degree in International Relations, Political Science, Sociology, History and Social Psychology.

# Table Discussion / Panel

## From Trends To Theaters

The aim of the first panel was to assess the underlying evolutions in economic, social, political, and security affairs in three important regions of the world – the West, the MENA region and East Asia. Panelists discussed strengths and weaknesses resulting from changes all three regions have undergone, as well as a changing Western stance towards other regions. This table discussion included perspectives from Jean-Claude Trichet, former president of the European Central Bank, Souad Mekhennet of the Washington Post, and Mikko Huotari (MERICS).

The first topic of discussion centered around the impacts of European economic weakness and the Eurozone crisis, most pronounced in Greece. European countries are still struggling with the aftermath of the last major financial crisis that was largely unexpected and necessitated a rapid and coordinated response. The financial crisis highlighted our need to be permanently prepared for the unexpected as well as the importance of strengthening European resilience to financial risks. It was suggested that the main problem today lies in a lack of trust among citizens in their national authorities, not only in the West but in many advanced economies in general. Regarding Europe, EU barometers show that populations are inclined to trust European institutions more than their national governments, particularly in the south. Regarding Greece's financial problems, implementing a new deal with Greece and finding a European solution to the problem was put forward as the preferred alternative. Although the possibility of Greece's pivot to Russia and China were mentioned, Russia's ability to save Greece from its debt crisis was dismissed. It is interesting to note that at the time of writing this report, Greek leader Alexis Tsipras and Russian President Vladimir Putin were holding talks in Moscow on possible financial and other support to Greece.

The second topic revolved around the changing approach of the West towards the Middle East. There was a strong emphasis on the fact that the radicalization process starts in the home countries of fledgling jihadists, rather than in the Middle East. Individuals who decide to join groups like ISIS are often frustrated with their lives, society or the domestic and foreign policy of their national governments – specifically double standards with regard to the Muslim world that are evident in the West. All too often, such individuals join radical circles,



**Mikko Huotari**

*Head of Programme Foreign Policy and Economic Relations, MERICS*

Mikko Huotari is Head of Programme “China’s Foreign Policy and Economic Relations” at the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Europe’s largest China Think Tank. Before joining MERICS, Mikko Huotari was teaching at the Department of International Politics at the University of Freiburg where he wrote his PhD on China and the transformation of East Asian financial and monetary order. He has published on emerging powers and global order, Chinese foreign policy, Issues of methodology and foreign policy analysis.

seeking a platform for voicing their frustrations. Furthermore, a parallel was made between the current situation in the Middle East and the 30 years war in Europe, in that a religion is being hijacked and misused for political purposes. Different panelists warned about the dangers of painting conflicts in black and white, or to overly focus on the Sunni-Shia divide in an attempt to explain the origins of the current crisis in the Middle East. In Iraq and Syria, for example, Kurdish and Shia militias enjoy broad support, despite their minority status. Speakers emphasized that it was important to look at the MENA region from the perspective of values, and to try to find common cause with those leaders who share universal values. At the same time, panelists warned against providing supporting to militias, or getting drawn into easy but short-term solutions.

Thirdly, the focus shifted towards rising nationalism in Asia. As was observed, many Asian leaders pursue considerably stronger foreign policies, as well as competing visions of what regional order in Asia should look like. In light of the fast pace of economic growth in Asia, there will be a need for new trade and financial arrangements to ensure stable development in the region.

This session made clear that threats in our modern world are not easy to capture, and they appear in various guises.







# *Sofa Discussion*

The Faces Of Violence

**Robert Kaplan**

*Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security*

Robert D. Kaplan is the bestselling author of fifteen books on foreign affairs and travel translated into many languages, including *Asia's Cauldron*, *The Revenge of Geography*, *Monsoon*, *Balkan Ghosts*, and *Eastward to Tartary*. He is a senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington and a contributing editor at *The Atlantic*, where his work has appeared for three decades. He was chief geopolitical analyst at Stratfor, a visiting professor at the United States Naval Academy, and a member of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, appointed by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates. *Foreign Policy* magazine twice named him one of the world's "Top 100 Global Thinkers."

**Dr. Andrew Mumford**

*Assistant Professor in Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham*

Dr. Andrew Mumford is an Assistant Professor in Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham, UK. Awarded his PhD from the University of Warwick, he was one of the 2012/13 Visiting Fellows at the Eccles Centre at the British Library in London and is an Associate Editor of the journal *Political Studies*. His book *'The Counter-Insurgency Myth: The British Experience of Irregular War'* was published 2011. He has previously taught at the Universities of Sheffield and Hull and has acted as a consultant to the Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre (DCDC), the UK Ministry of Defence's independent think tank. His latest book *'Proxy Warfare'* was published in 2013.

# Sofa Discussion

## The Faces Of Violence

The sofa discussion sought to connect the deep trends with visible forms of insecurity in today's world as well as to analyse how different forms of security threats are interrelated. The aim was also to improve audience's comprehension of conflict dynamics and to assess great-power cooperation and positioning of great powers towards underlying threats and tensions. The panelists explained some of the key conflicts dynamics and elucidated how external actors manage to manipulate such conflicts and wage proxy wars, by paying particular attention to Ukraine. Questions were raised about great power relations: why are there no joint approaches between great powers to handle the great conflicts of today, and how do tensions in East Asia complicate great power cooperation?

Panelists included Robert Kaplan (Center for a New American Security), Andrew Mumford (University of Nottingham) and Lora Saalman (Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies).

Today's instability can be better understood when put in historical perspective. For most of history, mankind was ruled by empires, and empire was the default mode of organization of Europe, up until the end of the Cold War. Hence, when order collapses, the alternatives are regroupings based on tribal and sectarian allegiances, or the emergence of 'mukhabarat' security states where security works but nothing else. Such states are held together by post-imperial strongmen who impose a 'suffocating authoritarianism'. When these men were toppled, they were eventually replaced by solidarity networks. What we will see is the rise of new empires, growing mega-cities and urbanization amidst extreme poverty. But when great powers appear to clash, they rather wish to avoid direct confrontation, which helps to give rise to proxy wars, 'the cheapest insurance in the world'. In proxy wars, protagonists seek to play on the weaknesses of their adversaries.

In fact, indirect confrontation will become - and already is - part of U.S.-Chinese relations. Meanwhile, China has its own institutional challenges, and due to this, its overall strength should not be overestimated, contrary to general opinion. What is new about China's rise is not that it acquires new weapons, but that it recombines existing stock, and seeks to develop niche capacities (including in cyber and anti-satellite warfare) to engage the U.S., with the aim of having



**Dr. Lora Saalman**

*Associate Professor at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies*

Dr. Lora Saalman is an Associate Professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies. She researches China's nuclear, conventional, and cybersecurity policies vis-à-vis India, Russia, and the United States. She was the first American to earn a doctorate from Tsinghua University's IR Department in Beijing. She worked as a nonresident associate in the Nuclear Policy Program at CEIP, an associate at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy in Beijing, a research associate at WPONAC in Washington, a visiting fellow at ORF in Delhi and CNS in Monterey, through which she earned a one-year IAEA fellowship.

a preemptive capacity. In terms of strategy statements, we see that China is becoming less transparent. Their strategy papers have only become shorter. At the same time, China wishes to lay claim to the South China Sea in the same way as the U.S. did in the Caribbean. But their aim is not to push America out, but to marginalize their regional influence. However, the U.S. will not accept that China 'Finlandizes' (i.e. neutralizes) countries from Japan to Vietnam. In general, however, it is dangerous to conclude from the rise of China that we are moving towards a bipolar world. China does not like the ring this has of confrontation, and wants to avoid ending up like Russia did at the end of the Cold War.

In the Middle East, it is precisely the states that have been 'geographical expressions' such as Libya, Syria and Iraq that have suffered the most. Youth bulges with large groups of restless young males have also been a contributing factor. But people do not get violent because of a lack of resources. The root lies in decades of political lack of belonging and citizenship. In Afghanistan, which also has little history of state-building or extant civil society, conflict has now endured for some thirty years. Now, we could be in for some 30 years of low-intensity violence in Libya, Syria and Iraq.

In Ukraine, hasty solutions such as sending weapons to certain militias to address should be avoided. Flooding war zones with weapons will only help to increase violence and conflict. What is more, it helps create new dependencies and we run the risk that today's friend could be tomorrow's enemy. The blowback from such rash actions could be serious. But the problem of this proxy war is not going away, if only because the threshold for intervention remain ambiguous. Still, we're not going back to a Cold War situation, but rather we enter a period of precariousness.

One of the weaknesses of European policymakers is that for 70 years, they did not need to think in terms of power politics, and hence were insufficiently prepared to deal with a resurgent Russia. The perception that Europeans are not willing to fight is a problem in itself. Policy-makers could do worse than to steep themselves in the works of Huntington and Kissinger. Europe needs a grand strategy, which can 'help them overcome fate.' What is more, European cannot continue to bank on American support to keep the peace on their continent. American policy circles are increasingly staffed by people from Latin America and Asia, who do not share Europe-centred geopolitical outlooks.





# *Table Discussion*

Resilient Societies

**Nils Gilman**

*Associate Chancellor, UC Berkeley Chief of Staff to Chancellor Nicholas B. Dirks*

Nils Gilman is the Associate Chancellor of UC Berkeley, and a former software executive and senior consultant on national security affairs. His research focuses on long-range scenario planning for topics such as financial instability, biosecurity, climate change, illicit commerce, and irregular warfare. He is the author of *Mandarins of the Future*, *Deviant Globalization*, and most recently “The Twin Insurgency: Facing Plutocrats and Criminals,” in *The American Interest*.

**Jelle van Haaster**

*Lieutenant, Royal Netherlands Army & PhD-researcher Cyber Operations*

Jelle van Haaster (1989) is currently writing his multidisciplinary Ph.D. thesis on the future utility of military cyber operations during conflicts at the Faculty of Military Sciences Breda and University of Amsterdam. Apart from being an officer in the Royal Netherlands Army, he has a background in international law (LL.M.) and software development (big data analytics, serious games). He has received various awards for his accomplishments in software development and academia.

# Table Discussion

## Resilient Societies

This panel built on the input from the preceding panels, which introduced participants to underlying trends and evolutions in the global security environment. On top of looking at the intertwined nature of threats, this panel aimed to address the management of foreseeable risks as well as the effective ways to make societies more resilient in the emerging security environment. This session included perspectives from panelists Jelle van Haaster (Royal NL Army), Ahmed Aboutaleb (Mayor of Rotterdam) and Nils Gilman (Berkeley University).

The first part of the discussion revolved around various aspects of international cybersecurity. The people-centric approach was put forward, which prioritizes the needs of the users. The technology that serves those needs should come second. It was stressed that utility of technology should be measured by improving the capacity of people, not by its capacity to destroy them. In order to build a more resilient society, it is necessary to understand the informational aspect of real-life events and to maximize public awareness of the power of information. As it was suggested, power can be composed of a moral, conceptual and physical component. Non-physical action – such as misleading visual images or tweets, for example – can cause a significant physical damage or unwanted reaction. Closure of a port, based on a misleading tweet from a hacked account suggesting a sea mine in the entrance, was used as an example of a possible financial and economic damage caused by manipulated information.

Panelists agreed that in order to protect port facilities – making up critical national infrastructure – it is necessary for port authorities to cooperate not only with the police but also with the armed forces, which are ahead of other public services in terms of cyber capabilities. As cyber attacks can be launched at any time, panelists called for increased investment in the armed forces, accompanied by intensified cooperation and coordination between military and civilian police.

Panelists then reflected on the Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris. Firstly, the cooperation between the military forces and the police in the aftermath of the attacks was used as an example the Netherlands could follow in order to shore up its rapid response capacity. The Netherlands should do more to safeguard

**Ahmed Aboutaleb***Mayor of Rotterdam*

Ahmed Aboutaleb was born in Beni Sidel (Morocco) on 29 August 1961.

After completing his secondary education, he attended an institute of technology, graduating in telecommunications in 1987.

He worked as a presenter for an educational television station (RVU), as a programme maker at Radio Stad Amsterdam and Radio Noord-Holland, and as a reporter for Veronica Radio, NOS Radio and RTL4 news.

From 1991 to 1994 he was a press officer at the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. Up to 1997 he was head of information at the Social and Economic Council (SER) and until 1998 manager of the Communications and Publications Sector at Statistics Netherlands (CBS). In 1998 he became director of the FORUM Institute for Multicultural Development and in 2002 of the Social, Economic and Cultural Development Sector of the municipality of Amsterdam. In 2004 he was appointed to Amsterdam's municipal executive

as alderman for Work and Income, Education, Youth, Diversity and Urban Policy.

Mr Aboutaleb has also sat on the Supervisory Board of the Mondriaan Education Group in The Hague, and on the Education Council. He helped to set up the Dutch Coalition for Peace in the Middle East, has been a member of the urban policy review committee, and was on the board of Babylon, a centre for multicultural studies at the University of Tilburg.

On 22 February 2007 Mr Aboutaleb was appointed State Secretary for Social Affairs and Employment in the fourth Balkenende government.

Ahmed Aboutaleb was installed as Mayor of Rotterdam on 5 January 2009.

safety in the streets. In France however, the permanent presence of 3000 military in the streets lays an unprecedented burden on the sustainability of high readiness forces. Secondly, all panelists agreed that social inclusion is key to fighting inequality or discrimination. Although increasing social investment is necessary, it is not sufficient on its own. Radicalization is a phenomenon that cannot be addressed by investments or job creations. It was suggested that rather than focusing on policy-making or budgeting, the power of speech should be used to bring people together. Debates organized by the city of Rotterdam were used as an example of fighting radicalization through dialogue.

The third part of the discussion was devoted to intertwined security challenges in the age of globalization. Globalization has affected illicit trade and transnational crime, among other areas. In response, states have been reinforcing their borders worldwide. Although increased border protection bears low social costs and provides citizens with a degree of psychological comfort, one of the panelists warned of the negative effects of enhanced border security. The case of the illicit drug smuggling into the United States was mentioned to show that the profit margin is highest at the point where drugs cross the border. Therefore, it was argued that by reinforcing our borders, we are in fact creating profit opportunities for markets we wanted to suppress in the first place. The second point related to legal ambiguities and loopholes. It was suggested that our moral limitations and the ways in which we enforce laws put us in a strategic disadvantage when facing an enemy who takes advantage of the existing ambiguities and employs asymmetric tactics. Moreover, we can witness a breakdown of our model of statecraft, the blurring of the distinction between state and non-state actors, as well as between diplomatic and non-diplomatic interventions. A call for a fundamental institutional reform at all levels was made.





# *Table Discussion*

Resilient Partnerships

**Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı**

*Ankara Office Director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States*

Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı is Ankara Office Director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Previously he has worked as Manager of the Resource Development Department of Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey, Director of ARI Movement and as a researcher at AB Consulting and Investment Services. He is an expert on transatlantic relations, Turkish foreign policy, domestic politics, democratisation and civil society. Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı is frequently quoted by international media including New York Times, The Economist, Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, Financial Times, Deutsche Welle and BBC.

**Darius Semaška**

*Lithuanian Ambassador to the Netherlands*

Ambassador Darius Semaška followed his career in Lithuanian diplomacy since 1994. His postings included Sarajevo (as a seconded officer to OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996 for implementation of Dayton Accords), Washington (Counsellor), Budapest (Ambassador), Brussels (Ambassador to PSC), The Hague (Ambassador). He also served as non-resident Ambassador to Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. In Vilnius he held positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the Prime Minister. From 2009 till 2012 Darius Semaška served in a political position of Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of Lithuania.

# Table Discussion

## Resilient Partnerships

The last debate of day one examined why, in the face of the uncertainties and turbulence we witness in the world today, we should strengthen alliances and partnerships and make them more adaptive, more resilient. The overall aim of this panel was to create a better understanding of the importance of cooperation between and within Western societies, to reflect on effective ways to deal with different threat perceptions, and to assess the need for an improved European security structure. Attention was paid to NATO and its relevance from the point of view of Turkey, the developments on the eastern border of the Alliance and differences in threat perception between European NATO members that may influence solidarity within the Alliance. Panelists also stressed the need for states to be more adaptive and to acquire better tools to improve foresight, and thus enhance European role as a security actor playing an important role in resilient partnerships. Panelists included Özgür Ünlühisarcikli (German Marshall Fund of the United States - Ankara Office), Darius Semaska (Lithuanian Ambassador to the Netherlands) and Stephan de Spiegeleire (HCSS).

To understand the dynamics between Western countries and what is happening in the Middle East, it is instructive to consider the words of an Arab character from a novel by Amin Maalouf, who said to a Westerner that “I belong to a defeated civilization, and you do not. There is the difference.” Military historian said that until the early 20th century, not a single Christian society had been defeated by a non-Christian one. This is also reflected in Turkey’s approach to the war in Syria and in dealing with refugee flows. There are now some 1.2 million Syrian refugees in Turkey that live in rented apartments. This influx can cause tension, but has been manageable so far. In Turkey, these incomers are called guests, and not immigrants, as is the case in Europe.

The paradox of NATO’s relevance is that the more successful it is, the less relevant it becomes. For Turkey, it remains relevant for as long as the country feels being under threat. The Dutch Patriot batteries are making a difference in that respect. In relation to the Middle East and the Syrian conundrum, Turkey’s position is ‘morally correct’, albeit not realistic today: that we need to remove Assad from power. The conflict is starting to resemble the Thirty Years’ War, and requires a grand bargain to be able to be resolved, given the stakes that other countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, China and others have in its outcome.

**Stephan de Spiegeleire**

*Senior Defence Scientist at the The Hague Centre for Strategic*

Stephan De Spiegeleire is Senior Defense Scientist at the The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies. He has worked at think tanks on both side of the Atlantic, including the RAND Corporation (US and Europe), the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (Germany), the WEU's Institute for Security Studies (France), and TNO (The Netherlands). He teaches at Webster University and is a frequent lecturer at a large number of military academies across the world. His main research interests focus on security foresight, risk assessment, capabilities-based planning, strategic design, security resilience, network-centrism, and open innovation in defense and security.

Concerning NATO's solidarity, the Russian operation in Georgia in 2008 can be seen in hindsight as a dress rehearsal where the Russian were testing a policy they had announced already in 2004, challenging the resolve of the Alliance. Similar kinds of a broad and a well-chosen variety of destabilizing activities are now being undertaken in the vicinity of the former Soviet states: military build-ups, large-scale exercises and missile systems being delivered to Kaliningrad. Penetration of local media is part of this campaign, and is proving to be effective. This is partly because in the Baltic states for instance, there are no legal limitations for Russian investors to enter the media markets. Yet, the Baltic states are significantly increasing their defence spending. We wanted to believe there was no imminent threat from Russia, but were tragically mistaken.

Part of the problem in dealing with Russia is that we were not sufficiently prepared, nor did we foresee what was going to happen, due to the impact of 'presentism'. Better and multiple future scenarios need to become part of our strategic toolkit. And apart from threat scenarios, we should also develop opportunities scenarios. The same applies to ISIS, whose emergence we essentially missed. At the same time, where Russia is concerned, we should not just focus on countering aggression, but also realize that within Russian society, there is an opposition that should be empowered as a 'drug against propaganda'. However, we do not have a strategy to engage Russian civil society now. An EU or NATO communication strategy could make a difference here. What is more, companies such as Google and Facebook can be critical partners, also for defence organizations. In creating narratives, they are as much a threat as an opportunity to take advantage of.

One more problem is that partnerships today are often conceived in a formalistic way, based on treaty commitments. However, we need more flexible partnerships where post-kinetic capabilities play an important role. An idea could be for the Netherlands to support truth-finding for the sake of accountability under international law by sending forensic teams to gather evidence in legal proceedings. When access is denied, the military can provide support to such teams.



# Takeaways Day One

In an uncertain world, inaction is not an option. For a defense organization, the current complexity requires adaptivity and a networked approach embedded in society functioning as an ecosystem.

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Throughout the financial crisis, Europe showed resilience but was it sufficient? We need to be permanently prepared for the unexpected events.

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There is a lack of trust between Europe and Middle Eastern countries. For our strategy to be more effective, we have to make an active effort to discuss security issues with regional powers and approach partners who share our values.

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The European/Western approach to Asia should not be Sino-centric but also focus on establishing partnerships with other emerging economies.

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The current world order based on territorial sovereignty is not accepted everywhere. We must craft a grand strategy that anticipates a possible return of imperialism in a new guise.

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States now try to compete with each other in more indirect ways, which explains the rise of proxy and hybrid warfare. There is a need to better understand how to mitigate and respond to such threats.

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The Chinese military build-up should not be seen through a Cold War prism, nor should we overestimate China's strength.

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Social media and cyber technologies make it easier than ever before to create a catastrophic impact with a minimal effort. This danger is still too often underestimated.

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The answer to fighting radicalization lies in creating societies that are truly inclusive. We need more dialogue and embrace our own basic values through solidarity and trust.

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Our adversaries freely use ambiguities, 'exploiting the plausible'. We need to rethink our strategic posture in the face of moral ambiguities.

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# **Conference Day Two**





# *Keynote*

Minister of Defence  
Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert

**Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert***Dutch Minister of Defence*

Following her studies, Mrs Hennis started working for the Directorate-General for Enlargement of the European Commission in Brussels. During that time, she spent two years working for the EC in Riga, Latvia. From 2000 to 2002, she worked as a consultant for KPMG in Amstelveen, Netherlands, after which she became a political assistant to the Municipal Executive of Amsterdam, a position she held until 2004.

From 2004 to 2010, Mrs Hennis became a Member of the European Parliament for the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy). As an MEP, she was a member of, among other things, the Committee on Transport and Tourism and the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs. On 17 June 2010, Mrs Hennis became a Member of the Dutch House of Representatives for the VVD, focusing on security, police, equal treatment and disaster and crisis response. On 5 November 2012, Mrs J.A. Hennis-Plasschaert was appointed Minister of Defence in the Rutte-Asscher government.

# Keynote

## Minister of Defence Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert

The focal point of Minister Hennis' speech was that we cannot take our liberty, security and prosperity for granted. This is why when freedom is under attack and the world becomes less secure, we need to re-energize our security infrastructure. We cannot assume that others will accept our view of the ideal world, nor that NATO Art 5 will provide sufficient defence to secure it. We have no wish for a new Cold War, but we do want Russia to abide by norms of international law. In absence of this, we need to rethink NATO's posture, and acquire new capabilities.

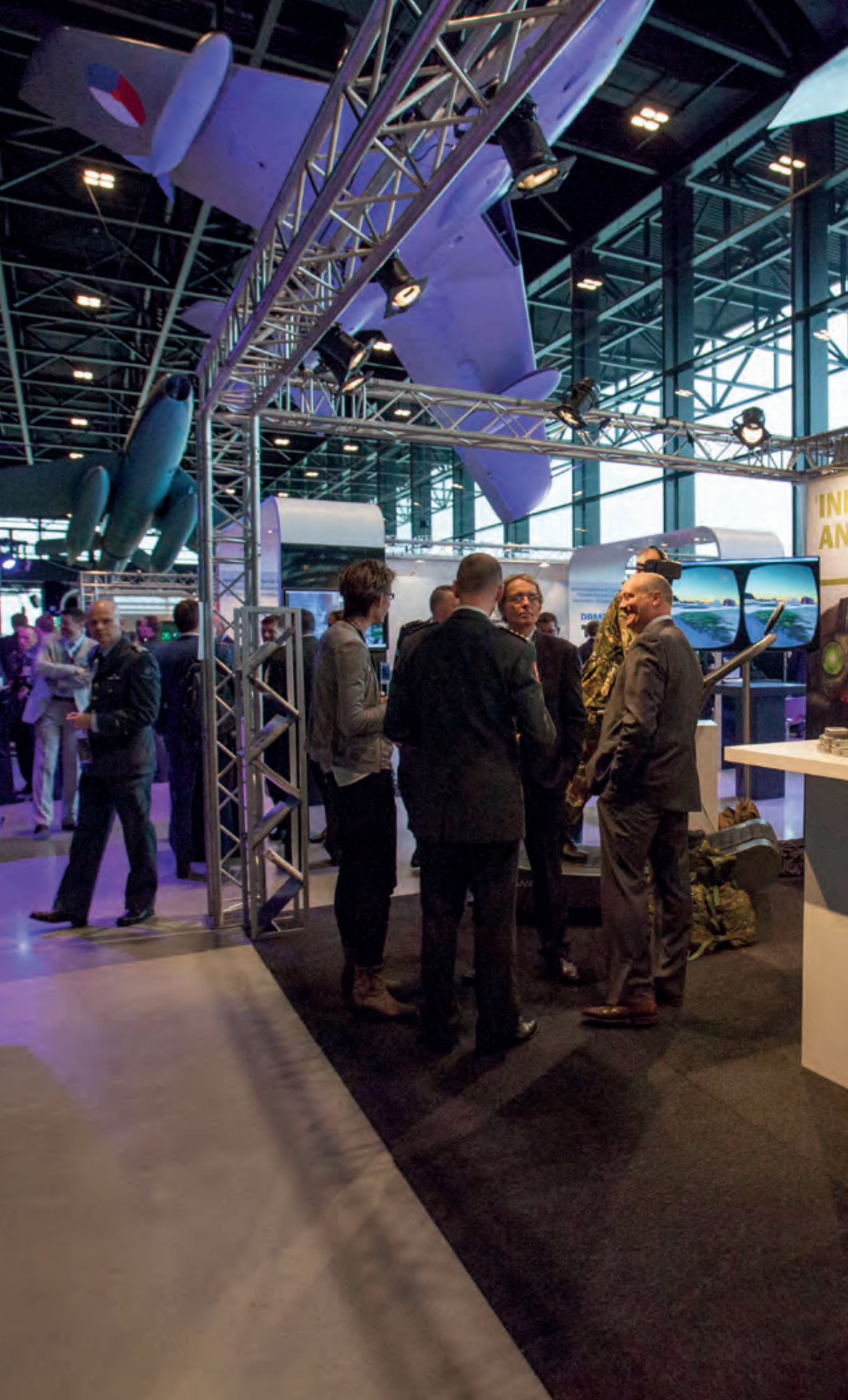
Europe's security is also affected by events in the Middle East, where the Arab spring has turned into a long winter. We now have some sixty countries in a coalition to fight against Daesh. This is a unique coalition that is difficult to defeat in a long-term campaign. But defeat does not come on the battlefield. It is the ideology that poses a threat to us all, and to our values. It poses a persistent threat, for which we have no quick fixes. And if the world's democracies do not take the initiative, others will. Thus it is time to get our act together, since we share global interests. As U.S. NATO Ambassador Nuland said, "strength at home and strength abroad are a package deal." NATO is now 65 years old, but it cannot retire. The Transatlantic community is stronger when we share the risks. Europeans need to do their share not because the Americans tell us, but because it is in our own interest. But would a strong EU harm NATO? No, it would benefit it by avoiding duplication and achieving complementarity. An over reliance on the U.S. can only be fixed through joint EU approaches. Hence the need to boost our military effectiveness.

Yet, the steps taken so far have been too small, and there is a lack of a sense of urgency. EU decision-making is still too cumbersome. But such initiatives are not a prelude to creating a single European army. Rather, EU nations need to come up with military means through cooperation. A fresh burst of confidence and commitment is needed. Cooperation such as the one we have with the Germans and Belgians can serve as an example of a smarter approach to defence. If partners are reliable, they do not put measures in place only at the

last moment, but they are prepared to invest beforehand. We need to be more open about our own strengths and weaknesses. A sense of ownership is needed, even if close cooperation is still often felt as a constraint on sovereignty, being a brake on effectiveness. A key here is to create an open defence market. National regulations now hamper innovation, and only reward political, employment or other particular interests. We need a market that leads in value for money, and better applies knowledge for innovation to boost our abilities. Developing new knowledge always requires cooperation. Security comes at a price, but the need for security justifies the cost. Hence, declining defence spending needs to be reversed, so that substantial security challenges can be adequately met. In the face of collective challenges, let us not hesitate but lead the way.







# *Panel Discussion*

Anticipation

**General Sir Rupert Smith****KCB DSO OBE QGM***Consultant and Adviser on Security and Defence matters*

General Sir Rupert Smith retired from the British Army on 20 January 2002. His last appointment was Deputy Supreme Commander Allied Powers Europe, 1998-2001, covering NATO's Balkan operations, including the Kosovo bombing, and the development of the European Defence and Security Identity. Prior to that he was the General Officer Commanding in Northern Ireland, 1996-1998; Commander UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, 1995; the Assistant Chief of Defence Staff for Operations, 1992-1994; and General Officer Commanding 1 (UK) Armoured Division, 1990-1992, including the Gulf War. His book "The Utility of Force" was published in September 2005.

# Panel Discussion

## Anticipation

Predicting the outbreak of internal instability has often proven difficult. The first panel of day two focused on the importance of anticipation, prevention and mitigation in view of the multifaceted and changing nature of armed conflicts. Panelists also examined NATO's current and future operations in response to the changing international security landscape. Suggestions were provided on how states can prepare for and respond to conflicts in the near future, and special attention was paid to the role of society in building resilience. The panel provided insights from Sir Rupert Smith, former commanding general of NATO and UN missions and considered to be an authority on military doctrine, Jamie Shea, a chief advisor to NATO on emerging security challenges, and Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer, Director of the German Marshall Fund of the United States - France in Paris.

To start understanding what we need to be prepared for, it is important to first understand how the paradigm of war has changed. Today, we face ever more war amongst the people, waged by non-state actors. Hence, warfare in the 21st century is very different from 20th century industrial warfare. The airwaves have become a critical factor in warfare. Previously, quick victory was what mattered. Now it is timing rather than time that matters. Each war is different, but our kit and organisations are never adequately suited for the next fight, nor do we really comprehend what is occurring. In the conflicts with Putin and ISIS, we suffer from the same problems. Our understanding can be enhanced once we start distinguishing between defence and security. Defence is used to defeat patent threats. Security is about preventing latent threats from becoming manifest. This makes defence something objective, involving polar opposites about winning and losing. Security is different, being a subjective judgment about risks and rewards. Therefore, to achieve security, one needs to strike up partnerships with potential enemies, for otherwise the latent threat remains. This also means that force should be used to make things happen, not simply to destroy, as was the case in Libya for instance. Force should be used to help create something after the fight. Since our enemies know we are kinetically superior, they will not take us on on our terms, but instead fight war amongst the people.



**Jamie Shea**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO*

Jamie Shea is NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges. He has been working with NATO since 1980.

Positions included Director of Policy Planning in the Private Office of the Secretary General, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for External Relations, Public Diplomacy Division, Director of Information and Press, Spokesman of NATO and Deputy Director of Information and Press, Deputy Head and Senior Planning Officer at the Policy Planning and Multilateral Affairs Section of the Political Directorate as well as Assistant to the Secretary General of NATO for Special Projects.

Jamie Shea is involved with several prominent academic institutions and acts amongst others as professor of the Collège d'Europe, Bruges, Visiting Lecturer in the Practice of Diplomacy, University of Sussex, Associate Professor of International Relations at the American University, Washington DC, where he also holds the position

of Director of the Brussels Overseas Study Programme, and lectures at the Brussels School of International Studies at the University of Kent.

For NATO, this means that we need to rethink how we are fighting our battles, and revisit existing assumptions. For instance, there is a constant need for new knowledge to be able to recognize patterns. There is also a need to recognize that NATO and the West overestimated their influence in the world and the attractiveness of liberal democracy. The Russian seizure of Crimea was a wake-up call in this respect. In its approach, NATO needs to get a better handle on enabling environments that produce jihadists and resentment, whether in Europe, in Afghanistan or elsewhere. This also includes a better understanding of enabling networks, often driven by criminal profits. Stronger cooperation with organisations such as Europol to boost intelligence would be useful. Hence, we need to focus more on the enabling environment, and not so much on the enemy itself. In addition, we need to better engage with our informal allies, and figure out what we want to achieve before we engage. In the face of hybrid warfare, we need to accept that information will be imperfect, yet this does not mean that we can wait forever before we act. We also need to have the capacity to operate in multiple theaters simultaneously: Europe faces challenges to the south and the east.

But no matter how much capacity we build, concerning anticipation, we need to be realistic in that we will continue to be surprised and have to be reactive. In general, we need to be less rosy-eyed about our assumptions on the inevitability of democracy. What we can improve is the speed at which we respond. Strategic communication is absolutely key to such anticipatory efforts. Public support is essential for military operations, and we need to better explain when we decide to engage or disengage, in particular in the wake of our experiences in Iraq, Syria and Libya. What such a lack informing the public can lead to we have seen in that overreliance on military force in Iraq and Afghanistan have led to much lighter footprints in engaging in Libya and today against ISIS. Secondly, we need to have a more forceful narrative response to channels such as RT and ISIS propaganda now entering our airwaves. We need to find ways to access their airwaves. The aim of our adversaries is now on defeating our publics at home with convincing narratives, and not our armies. Therewith, our vulnerabilities have become the frontline of our defence, and the centre of gravity in this battle is our society.

For NATO, this has the following implications: First, it needs to decide whether it is focused on defence or on security, and adjust accordingly. Secondly, it needs to reconsider the strength of its internal solidarity. In line with this, we also need



**Dr. Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer**

*Senior Transatlantic Fellow, Director of the German Marshall Fund of the United States Paris Office*

Dr. Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer is a senior transatlantic fellow and serves as the director of the Paris office of The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), where she leads the Transatlantic Security Program. An accomplished expert on U.S. foreign policy, transatlantic relations and international security, de Hoop Scheffer has held several positions in the French government and academia, and advised international organizations and companies. She's also an associate professor at Sciences Po Paris and the author of the book *Hamlet en Irak* (2007) and articles and op-eds in European and U.S. newspapers and journals.

to realise that while Europeans have to get their act together, the U.S. remains an indispensable partner. Thirdly, the Alliance needs to increase its ability to react quicker, and put together coalitions of the willing. Finally, it needs to rebuild trust between its political leadership and the societies it stands to defend and protect, and explain its *raison d'être* and utility. Political leaders need to tell the truth; this will help boost public support. This mission also implies the need to rewrite the existing strategic concept of the Alliance, which should include a cyber strategy and address crisis capacities.





# *Sofa Session*

Warfighting Innovation



**John Garstka**

*Senior Analyst, Office of the DASD for Command, Control, Communications, Cyber & Business*

John Garstka is a Senior Analyst in the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications, Cyber & Business Systems; Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics); U.S. Department of Defense. His current responsibilities include oversight of the development and acquisition of capabilities for cyberspace operations and the conduct of material solution analysis for cyber capabilities. Prior to joining OUSD(AT&L), he worked in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Networks and Information Integration (NII)/DoD Chief Information Officer, the Office of Under Secretary of Defense (Policy), the Office of Force Transformation, and the Directorate for C4 Systems on the Joint Staff. Previously, he conducted operations research and developed simulation solutions as a consultant with Cambridge Research Associates and as Policy Analyst in the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Headquarters

U.S. Air Force. He began his career working as a space systems engineer at U.S. Air Force Space Division in the Systems Program Office responsible for developing the Space Surveillance and Tracking System, a space based sensor system that was an element of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

He has an extensive background in systems engineering, analysis, and capability development, with a M.S. in Engineering-Economic Systems from Stanford University. He is a Distinguished Graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy and served on active duty in the U.S. Air Force for 10 years and in the U.S. Air Force Reserve for 15 years. He has written and spoken extensively on the topics of defense transformation, warfighting innovation, and network-centric operations.

# Sofa Session

## Warfighting Innovation

This panel emphasized the importance of military innovation and offered insights into the affordability and sustainability of Dutch Armed Forces, as we move further into the 21st century. Moreover, panelists sought to assess innovation programs, using cost-benefit analysis, as well as to highlight the role of society in successful military innovation. Speakers taking part in the discussion were John Garstka (U.S. Department of Defense) and Gert Nutzelt (Photonis).

Military operations were assessed from a network perspective. Looking at the example of America's Armed Forces, panelists recalled that the concept of information superiority was first introduced in Joint Vision 2010. It was emphasized that society has shifted from the 'industrial age' to the 'information age' - a shift that is occurring in warfighting as well. Moreover, information technology is undergoing a shift in computing from a platform-centric model to a network-centric model. As we operate in conflict environments characterized by high instability, there is a need for a networked approach. The need to create forces that can operate effectively in such environment was emphasized. However, as it was suggested, the focus should be on network-enabling capabilities rather than network-centric capabilities. Put differently, networking should be viewed as an enabler for conventional forces to do conventional operations. Operation Iraqi Freedom was referred to as the first instance of a united force.

Speakers pointed out that innovation processes have commonalities, one of them being their disruptive component. Carrier aviation and UAVs were used as prime examples of the process of transformation in the defense industry. As participants pointed out, it took some time to convert carriers into warships, what eventually changed the nature of warfare. Similarly, UAVs, which were first used for surveillance, are nowadays used for precision strikes. The realities of aviation are changing, as the work of a drone warrior does not require an actual physical deployment. Panelists stressed that cultural warfighting dissonance constitutes a challenge. Therefore, there is a need for a cultural change.



**Gert Nutzel***Chief Scientist Officer Photonis*

Gert Nutzel currently holds the position of Chief Scientist of Photonis Technologies. In that role he is responsible for Innovation within the Photonis Group. Before he held the roles of CTO and in the further past of Director of Research and Development of Delft Electronic Products (DEP), now Photonis Netherlands. Apart from his work in optronics, he held various positions in hi-tech industries : space industry, optical industry, and automation for oil and gas industry. Gert is co-author of the Springer book : “Single Photon Imaging”. He holds a master of Applied Physics from the Delft University of Technology.

Panelists also emphasized the importance of knowing one's adversary and understanding the operational domain, as this will influence how force is used in the future. Regarding innovation, speakers agreed that speed is of essence. While some look at what is readily available to keep up with the enemy, others attempt to increase the speed of technology not available to the adversary. Panelists warned that the pace of disruptive innovation is being stepped up. If we lose the technological edge, we will likely find ourselves blindsided and surprised.

Then, the focus shifted to conceptual innovation, such as digital night vision technology, developed in the Netherlands. Conceptual innovation is a joint innovation, which also involves trial and error and a degree of risk at start. Panelists emphasized the need to innovate both the structure and the components within it. Representatives of private companies supplying defense materials/equipment pointed out that innovation serves no purpose unless it is carried out in cooperation with one's customer. Furthermore, they called on European states to increase investment in innovation.

Panelists concluded that it is crucial for leaders to understand that warfighting innovation is a field on its own that deserves as much attention as planning and executing military operations.





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# *Keynote*

Supreme Allied Commander  
For Europe, Gen. Philip Breedlove

**Philip Breedlove***SACEUR NATO*

General Philip M. Breedlove assumed duties as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe and Commander of U.S. European Command in May 2013.

General Breedlove was commissioned in 1977 as a distinguished graduate of Georgia Tech's ROTC program and was raised in Forest Park, Ga.

A Fighter Pilot by trade, General Breedlove is a Command Pilot with over 3,500 flying hours primarily in the F-16. He has flown combat missions in Operation Joint Forge supporting the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and Operation Joint Guardian to implement the peace settlement in Kosovo.

From 1993-1994, General Breedlove commanded the 80th Fighter Squadron in Kunsan AB, South Korea.

From 1997-1999, he commanded the 27th Operations Group at Cannon AFB, New Mexico.

From 2000-2001, he was the commander of the 8th Fighter Wing,

Kunsan AB, South Korea.

From 2002-2004, he was the commander of the 56th Fighter Wing at Luke AFB, Arizona followed by another wing command from 2004-2005 of the 31st Fighter Wing at Aviano AB, Italy.

From 2008-2009, General Breedlove commanded 3rd Air Force, Ramstein AB, Germany.

From 2012-2013, he was Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe; Commander, U.S. Air Forces Africa; Commander Headquarters Allied Air Command, Ramstein; and Director, Joint Air Power Competence Centre, Kalkar Germany.

In addition to General Breedlove's command assignments, he has served in a variety of senior leadership positions for the U.S. Air Force including: the senior military assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force; the Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy on the Joint Staff; the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Plans and Requirements for Headquarters U.S. Air Force; and Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force.

General Breedlove earned a Master of Science degree in Aeronautical Technology from Arizona State University and a Master's degree in National Security Studies from the National War College in 1995.

# Keynote

## Supreme Allied Commander For Europe, Gen. Philip Breedlove

“We live in interesting times”, Gen. Breedlove paraphrased a famous Chinese saying at the outset of his remarks. Today, NATO must prepare for strategic competition, given simultaneous challenges being faced from the east and the south. But the actors are different and require different forms of military engagement. Russia is challenging established principles and rules of the international order, using hybrid and proxy warfare, as well as elements of surprise and deceit to achieve its aims. Russia has an integrated approach that includes economic pressure and intelligence operations in addition to supporting proxies inside Ukraine.

This continuum of action is what we call hybrid warfare. It is based partly on a show of forces and an ability to quickly and decisively move troops around, staging snap exercises and applying all elements of DIME (Diplomacy, Information, Military and Economics). In short, it is the use of instruments we know, but in different configurations. One element is Russia’s attempt to delegitimize the Kiev government, and to create divisions between Kiev and European governments. Although Russia sought to create ambiguity in terms of its military operations, it later admitted ‘little green men’ were Russian. To respond to this type of warfare, we need Whole-of-Government (WoG) approaches grounded in DIME. In the information domain, we are eminently prepared to deal with the challenge of responding to disinformation, but we do not have the resolve to use our means. We need to understand the speed and power of lies, and respond accordingly. NATO members addressed the issue of hybrid warfare and implemented an action plan agreed at the Wales summit to address the evolving strategic environment. Combined responses across all levels are required to counter hybrid warfare: from land, air, maritime to special operating forces (SOF). NATO is also working on a cyber strategy. The key to cyber defence is to have a pro-active rather than a reactive strategy.

What is more, we face very capable opponents, but they are not invincible. They do not meet us where we are strong, but where we are weak. We got into a hybrid war because our opponent does not want to meet us on the battlefield.



General Breedlove also attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2002 as a Seminar XXI Fellow. He is a distinguished graduate of both Squadron Officer School and Air Command and Staff College.

General Breedlove holds various decorations and awards, including the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal and four awards of the Legion of Merit.

The General is married to Cindy, and has two daughters Samantha and Rebecca and a son Daniel. He is an avid motorcycle rider and is passionate about motorcycle safety

Yet Russia is also re-arming and modernizing its forces, all whilst strengthening its command, control and defence mechanisms. They are experimenting with new approaches, and integrate these in their new military doctrine, being a continuum featuring conventional, unconventional and nuclear capabilities.

Over the past twenty years, we have tried to make Russia a partner in the post-Cold War architecture, and continued to do so even after Russia's war with Georgia in 2008. NATO devised a new mission for itself, engaging in out-of-area COIN operations. In the process, we lost the art of understanding Russia, and part of this is because our intelligence agencies do not communicate sufficiently with one another. In the Cold War, we had a common mission and shared intelligence. After the Cold War, we ceased doing this, and became reluctant to share intelligence. In the wake of the crisis in Ukraine, some sharing has resumed, but only haphazardly. Hence, we need to change our culture of intelligence-sharing.

To the south, we face a different challenge combining terrorism, extremism and civil war. Development there requires a new NATO approach, as the challenges we face will take decades to play themselves out. This new approach should include focused engagements, expanded situational awareness and new capacity-building. Counter-proliferation and maritime security are also essential. In general, it is better to be able to deploy sooner rather than to have to pay a steep price later.

Given the challenges faced by NATO countries, we need great leadership capacities--and we have some good capacity on the European side. Some countries, due to their histories, have a good understanding of other parts of the world, but we need to be continuously learning. In terms of providing our fair share, the 2% spending target for defence is an important commitment. Equally important is to pay attention to how the money is spent. Focusing first on the needs of the Alliance would be better than prioritizing strictly national needs. Finally, we should not forget the home front. As our countries become war-weary, we need to make clear and understand the sacrifices that men and women in uniform make, and act in an upright and moral way, representing what we stand for.



# *Round Table*

Shock Resistant Partnerships


**Ineke Dezentjé Hamming-Bluemink**

*Chairman of the Board of  
the FME-CWM Association  
(Vereniging FME-CWM)*

Ineke Dezentjé Hamming – Bluemink, is Chairman of FME, the employers' organisation of the technology sector in the Netherlands, and Chairman of the European employers' organisation Cemet in Europe, representing 200,000 industrial companies. As the Chairman of Smart Industry, she is committed to innovation opportunities that arise with the intertwining of ICT and production. Safety in this context is also an important topic. As member of Parliament, she was first to demand safety at sea and protection for merchant shippers under threat from piracy, at the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), ultimately resulting in the adoption of a resolution.


**Paul de Krom**

*CEO of TNO Netherlands*

Experienced executive. As an HR and (international) business executive I have extensive (change) management and organization development expertise and skills. Through my background and experience in both the private industry and the public sector I am particularly interested in organisations which operate in a public – private environment.


**Sjoerd Vollebregt**

*Former CEO Dutch Industry*

Sjoerd Vollebregt is Chairman of the Advisory Board Airbus Defence and Space Netherlands, Member of the Board at Heijmans and TNT Express. With more than twenty years of experience in executive management positions, Vollebregt headed Stork

# Round Table

## Shock Resistant Partnerships

This final session focused on discussing the nature of future partnerships. The aim was to highlight the importance of strengthening cooperation between military, knowledge-based institutes and industry. As it was argued, only those partnerships that are based on such cross-sectoral cooperation can enhance resistance to future shocks. Attention was also paid to the development of innovative funding opportunities, such as private investment, public-private partnerships and perhaps a defence investment fund, comparable to the one established for the national defence against rising sea levels. Panelists included Paul de Krom (TNO), Sjoerd Vollebregt, Imke Carsouw (Brainport Development) and Ineke Dezentjé Hamming-Bluemink (FME).

The first part of discussion revolved around the process of innovation. To foster innovation, participants examined the benefits of the triple helix model, based on dynamic interconnections between academia, industry and government. This partnership model is important throughout the whole innovation life cycle: from idea generation, through design to application. The High Tech Campus Eindhoven was used as an example of an early adopter of this triple helix strategy. The Campus is an important research and development hotspot, which unites more than 135 companies and institutes, and over 10,000 researchers, developers and entrepreneurs working on developing future technologies and products<sup>1</sup>. The triple helix concept is also at the core of the strategy of TNO and visible in its supporting role in the Future Force Conference. More focus and effort is needed in innovation within the triple helix, which could be the topic of a follow-up activity as part of a Future Force Campaign that would encompass a two-year cycle.

Referring to the findings published in *The Entrepreneurial State* (Mazzucato, 2013), special emphasis was placed on the role of the government in innovation process, particularly the military. TNO plays a key role in bringing the government, large companies, the SME sector, service providers and NGOs together. Moreover, TNO maintains strong links with the Dutch Ministry of Defense, and tries to link the requirements of the Ministry with the innovation processes for the benefit of society as a whole.

1. [http://www.hightechcampus.com/about\\_the\\_campus/](http://www.hightechcampus.com/about_the_campus/)



and Fokker Technologies between 2002 until 2014, where he succeeded to increase the stock exchange value extremely within four years.



**Imke Carsouw – Huizing**

*Managing Director Brainport Development*

Since June 2012, Imke Carsouw has headed Brainport Development as managing director. Brainport Development is a new-style development company that works with representatives from industry, knowledge institutions and government to strengthen Brainport as a top region for technology. From 2010 until 2012 Ms Carsouw was responsible for policy development and execution of the generic entrepreneurship policy for small and medium-sized enterprises at the Directorate-General for Enterprise and Innovation at the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Brainport is an important cornerstone of the Dutch economy in which High Tech Systems & Materials, Food, Automotive, Lifetec and Design are the focal sectors. Brainport Development encourages and develops regional and (inter)

national projects and programmes, promotes Brainport at home and abroad, and facilitates regional industry through business advice and funding, incubation facilities, business premises and business centres.

After gaining a master's degree in public administration from Erasmus University Rotterdam in 1995, Ms Carsouw took on several positions in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. In 1997 she transferred to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. She focused on two themes: innovation and entrepreneurship.

Since 2005 Ms Carsouw has been actively engaged in south-east Netherlands for the Ministry of Economic Affairs. She took on responsibility for the development of an economic vision and a plan of action for the region. This "Peaks in the Delta" approach resulted in intensive co-operation between the national and regional governments, generating concrete results. She worked in the south-east region until 2010, and returned in 2012.

Attention was devoted to the concept of ‘open innovation’ that – in contrast with closed innovation – focuses on innovating with those outside the company by sharing knowledge and experience, as well as risks and rewards, with the aim to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the innovation process. Panelists pointed out that for open innovation to succeed, trust between different partners is key.

Panelists also stressed the importance of internationalization. As it was argued, there is a lot of duplication across countries in terms of research and innovation. Therefore, to get the most value from our investment, internationalization of innovation systems is an absolute necessity. On top of internationalization, adaptability is key. As it was suggested, it is not the most intelligent or the strongest who will survive but the one that is most adaptable to change. Developing hybrid capabilities, to counter/to adapt to our opponents’ use of hybrid warfare, was used as an example of an area where defense innovation and strategic partnerships are particularly needed.

Another point raised during the table discussion related to the human factor in innovation (i.e., the role of the individuals behind the innovation process). Participants agreed that in a fragmented future, the human factor would be even more important. Therefore, building a better educated and trained ‘smartforce’ is key. The younger generation is much more entrepreneurial and it needs support and a place to learn and develop.

All things considered, participants stressed the need for Defense Forces to open up where possible, get out of their comfort zones, and find new strategic partners to embrace the ‘digital revolution’.



## Takeaways Day Two

Liberty, security and prosperity cannot be taken for granted and are worth fighting for.

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NATO's Article 5 will not continue to provide sufficient deterrence. In a less secure world, we need to re-energize western security infrastructure, rethink NATO's posture, and acquire new capabilities.

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Strength at home and strength abroad are a package deal. Transatlantic partnership should be based on increasing risk and responsibility sharing.

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Although the U.S. is an indispensable partner in security matters, Europeans cannot expect to rely on American support forever. Reliance on the U.S. should be decreased through joint EU approaches, and boosting of our military effectiveness. A new burst of confidence and commitment is needed.

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Leaders should understand that warfighting innovation is indispensable and constitutes a field on its own. Therefore, our engagement in innovation should receive as much attention as a major combat operation.

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We need to be open and transparent about our strengths and weaknesses. Trust is key for building resilient partnerships.

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When countering violent extremism, we have to focus more on the enabling environment rather than the enemy itself.

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Anticipation requires cooperation at all levels, with our formal and informal allies alike.

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In the face of hybrid threats, we have to accept that information will be imperfect and that we will continue to face an element of surprise. If we cannot anticipate, we have to improve the speed at which we respond. Strategic communication is key in such efforts.

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In innovation, speed is of essence too. As the pace of disruptive innovation is stepping up, we will likely find ourselves surprised and blindsided if we lose technological edge.

As we operate in conflict environments characterized by high instability, there is a need for a networked approach and a united force. Networking should be viewed as an enabler for conventional forces to do conventional operations.

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NATO member states do not fully share intelligence and an intelligence apparatus is missing. To understand the strategic environment better, we need to change our culture of intelligence sharing.

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The enemy today targets our societies rather than armies. Information space turned into a new battlefield. We are well equipped to deal with the challenge of disinformation, but we are lacking political resolve to use our means.

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Hybrid warfare includes elements of diplomacy, information, military and economic tactics (DIME). To respond to this type of warfare, we need a 'whole-of-government' approach grounded in DIME.

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There is a lot of duplication among countries in terms of research and innovation. To get the most value from our investment, internationalization of innovation systems is crucial.

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Defense forces should open up where possible, get out of their comfort zone, and find new strategic partners to embrace the 'digital revolution'.

# Conference Closing Remarks

## General Tom Middendorp

In his closing remarks, General Middendorp highlighted some of the main findings of the conference, to which he added his own reflections. He started out by saying that further reflection is needed on our ability to accurately anticipate events, and - related to this - our ability to build shock-resistant partnerships. Four key trends that we need to heed are: one, a shift in the global balance of power; two, more volatile economic growth that produces local social unrest; three, increasing scarcity of natural resources and four, technology-induced global inequality between advanced and more backward societies.

The result of these trends could be a state of anarchy between and inside states. Meanwhile, new powers are seeking to fill the voids, in particular in Asia. Europeans need to ask themselves how they will deal with the ring of fire that encircles the continent. The question is whether Europe would be a player or a playground for others in the 21st century.

Three terms that stuck with General Middendorp were ecosystems, the state, and proxy wars. Thinking about our security environment in terms of ecosystems presupposes the need for adaptivity and a networked approach that is built on mutual trust<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, we need to restore confidence in our societies regarding our state institutions; that is, strengthening confidence in our democracies, foster resilient economies and create a we-community based on common European values. This becomes even more important given that Europe may not be able to rely on American support forever. European defense spending is too low, and we have lost our capacity to think in terms of power politics. Therefore, we need an honest debate about our own responsibility regarding our defence and security, also to be able to turn 'victims of our societies into assets of society.' Thirdly, we need a strategy on countering old types of warfare that are employed in new ways. We need to demystify the concept of hybrid warfare, and craft a grand strategy as a statement that we will overcome fate. Our approach matters here, and above all, we need to have a compelling narrative that helps us to victory in theatres of war and conflict. This requires investing in our soft power, in cyber capacities and making effective use of social networks.

*2. In essence, this is about the need to look for new opportunities for our defence organisations to pursue new modes of cooperation so as to be able to operate more effectively.*



Ultimately, we should not be tempted to abandon our own values, but ‘rise above the muck’ and defend our shared values. These shared values should also constitute the starting point for reaching out to key individuals and organizations in those countries and areas where our values are under threat. This would be a good starting point for developing effective responses to new threats, all whilst taking advantage of the ecosystem in which we operate.

Regarding future threats, we need to consider four issues: anticipation, innovation, partnerships and credibility. Anticipation requires understanding and cooperation at all levels, understanding drivers of change, investing in early warning capabilities and ensuring that we can respond in flexible ways. For if we cannot anticipate, then we need to improve our response time. Innovation matters because “those who initiate change will have a better opportunity to manage the change that is inevitable.” It is indispensable to stay ahead of potential opponents. Third, as to partnerships, the Transatlantic bond remains indispensable. But it cannot be strong without a firm European commitment. In addition, we also need to create a culture of intelligence sharing based on trust. Only then can we stay one step ahead of our adversaries and undercut the power of lies. These are some elements for creating true shock-resistant partnerships.

But beyond words, we need “to join forces to create a true resilient society campaign.” Only then can we be credible - credible in our readiness, our willingness, our size and our political resolve. In that regard, every European nation shares responsibility for our collective security. Security always comes at a price and should include sound early investments. Hopefully this conference provided all players in the ecosystem with the right incentives to take the next step to turn this initiative into a true Future Force Campaign.







# Conference programme

## Monday 23 March | Welcome

17:00 hrs   Welcome Reception

## Tuesday 24 March | Day One

08:30 hrs	Welcome Coffee
09:45 hrs	Welcome and Conference Rules Hans van Grieken, <i>Vice President Business Innovation Capgemini</i>
09:50 hrs	Opening address General Tom Middendorp, <i>Chief of Defence Netherlands Armed Forces</i>
10:10 hrs	'The Big Picture' Jonathan Holslag, <i>Post-doctoral researcher, Vrije Universiteit Brussel</i>
10:30 hrs	Interaction with the audience Hans van Grieken, <i>Vice President Business Innovation Capgemini</i>
10:40 hrs	Table Discussion 'From Trends to Theatres' Jean-Claude Trichet, <i>Former Chairman ECB</i> Souad Mekhennet, <i>Journalist Washington Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> Mikko Huotari, <i>Head of Programme Foreign Policy and Economic Relations, MERICS</i>
11:30 hrs	Networking Coffee Break
12:10 hrs	Discussion of findings based on the input of the audience
12:15 hrs	Sofa Discussion 'The Faces of Violence' Robert Kaplan, <i>US journalist and writer</i> Dr. Andrew Mumford, <i>Lecturer Politics and International Relations</i> Dr. Lora Saalman, <i>Associate Professor Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies</i>
13:00 hrs	Networking Lunch
14:15 hrs	Table Discussion 'Resilient Societies' Lieutenant Jelle van Haaster, <i>PhD researcher Cyber Operations, Royal Netherlands Army</i> Ahmed Aboutaleb, <i>Mayor of Rotterdam</i> Nils Gilman, <i>Associate Chancellor, University of Berkeley</i>
15:30 hrs	Refreshment break and leg stretch
16:15 hrs	Table Discussion 'Resilient Partnerships' Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı, <i>Ankara Office Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States</i> Darius Semaška, <i>Lithuanian Ambassador to the Netherlands</i> Stephan de Spiegeleire, <i>Senior Expert, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies</i>
17:30 hrs	Interactive discussion to exchange what we learned on Day One
17:45 hrs	Adjourn Day One – proceed to Inspiration Dinner by bus
19:00 hrs	Inspiration Dinner Hosted by General Tom Middendorp, <i>Chief of Defence Netherlands Armed Forces</i>

Wednesday 25 March | Day Two

08:00 hrs	Welcome Coffee
09:00 hrs	Opening and Welcome Hans van Grieken, Vice President Business Innovation Capgemini
09:10 hrs	Key-note speech 'How to Act in a Less Secure World' Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, Dutch Minister of Defence
09:30 hrs	Table Discussion 'Anticipation' General Sir Rupert Smith - 'Hybrid War amongst the people' Jamie Shea - 'NATO's New Strategic Posture' Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer - 'Anticipating shocks in our strategic environment'
10:20 hrs	Networking Coffee Break
11:00 hrs	Sofa Discussion 'Warfighting Innovation' John Garstka, Senior Analyst, Office of the DASD for Command, Control, Communications, Cyber & Business Systems, OUSD (AT&L) Gert Nutzelt, Chief Scientist Officer Photonis
12:00 hrs	Key-note speech General Philip Breedlove, SACEUR NATO
12:45 hrs	Networking Lunch
14:00 hrs	Table Discussion 'Shock Resistant Partnerships' Paul de Krom, TNO Netherlands Sjoerd Vollebregt, Former CEO Dutch Industry Imke Carsouw, General Director Brainport Development Eindhoven Ineke Dezentjé Hamming-Bluemink, Chairman FME
15:30 hrs	Conference Closing Remarks General Tom Middendorp, Chief of Defence Netherlands Armed Forces
16:00 hrs	Adjourn Conference - Farewell Drinks
17:30 hrs	End of Conference





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