



SECRETARIA GENERAL DEL CONGRESO DE LOS DIPUTADOS DIRECCIÓN DE RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES	
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SECRETARIA GENERAL DEL CONGRESO DE LOS DIPUTADOS DIRECCIÓN DE RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES	
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Congreso de los Diputados

Viaje de una delegación de la Comisión de Defensa del Congreso de los Diputados a la Reunión preparatoria de la Conferencia Interparlamentaria sobre Política Exterior y de Seguridad Común y Política Común de Seguridad y Defensa (CIP-PESC/PCSD)

Ámsterdam, 14 y 15 marzo 2016

En la sede del edificio Europa, instalaciones de la Armada de los Países Bajos, siendo las 15,00 h. del día 14 de marzo de 2016 da comienzo el Seminario "La dimensión parlamentaria de la cooperación en defensa", bajo la presidencia neerlandesa de la UE. Este seminario precede a la Conferencia Interparlamentaria sobre PESC/PCSD que tendrá lugar en la Haya, del día 6 al 8 de abril de 2016.

Durante la Presidencia de la Unión de los Países Bajos (primer semestre de 2016), se han previsto varias actividades entre las que se incluyen una reunión informal de los Ministros de Defensa, un encuentro de los Directores de Políticas de Defensa y tres seminarios para estimular el debate y generar propuestas para el refuerzo de la Política Común de Seguridad y Defensa. Organiza los Seminarios el Ministerio holandés de Defensa en cooperación con el instituto Neerlandés de Relaciones Internacionales (*Clingendael*).

A este propósito sirve, pues, el presente Seminario, el segundo de ellos. El primero, titulado "Una PCSD más fuerte: ahondar en cooperación en defensa", tuvo lugar los días 20 y 21 de enero, también en Ámsterdam. Dicho Seminario se centró en el fortalecimiento de la PCSD gracias a un criterio menos dependiente de la participación voluntaria en el desarrollo de capacidades, la presión de los homólogos, los incentivos financieros y otros mecanismos. Los objetivos de este segundo seminario consisten en analizar cómo pueden fomentar los Parlamentos de Europa estas herramientas y mecanismos, así como la cuestión de la toma de decisiones parlamentarias en el despliegue de fuerzas de acción rápida, y, finalmente, profundizar en un mayor compromiso estratégico-político de los Parlamentos en relación con el proceso de la Estrategia Global, formulando recomendaciones concretas e ideas con vistas a avanzar de cara a la Conferencia Interparlamentaria de abril.

Asisten en representación de las Cortes Generales, por el Congreso de los Diputados, el Excmo. Sr. D. Ricardo TARNO BLANCO (GP) y la Excmra. Sra. Dª. Zaida CANTERA DE CASTRO (GS). Les acompaña la Letrada de la delegación, Ilma. Sra. Dª. Sara Sieira Muientes.

El Programa de la reunión puede consultarse en el Anexo I. La relación de asistentes, en el Anexo II. Con anterioridad a la reunión se distribuyó el documento "Food for thought Paper" que se incluye en el Anexo III. Durante la sesión se distribuyeron documentos sobre los "Acuerdos plurianuales de defensa" (Anexo IV) y "procedimientos de toma de decisiones para



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las fuerzas de respuesta rápida" (Anexo V). Finalmente, el Clingendael Report ha publicado recientemente las conclusiones del presente seminario, que se introducen como último Anexo, el Anexo VI.

A las 15h., la Presidenta de este Seminario, Presidenta de la Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores de la Cámara de Representantes de los Países Bajos, y Vicepresidenta de la delegación en la OTAN, Sra. Angelien EIJSINK, abre la sesión. A continuación tiene lugar el discurso del Presidente de la Cámara de Representantes de los Países Bajos, Sr. Khadija ARGIB.

Seguidamente da comienzo la primera sesión: "La Estrategia Global, la PESC y la dimensión parlamentaria". La Sra. Nathalie TOCCI, moderadora, introduce las intervenciones de los miembros de la primera sesión, sobre "La Estrategia Global, la PCSD y la dimensión parlamentaria".

En primer lugar, el Sr. Alfredo CONTE, Director de la División estratégica de Planificación del Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior, traza el marco general de la Estrategia Global en su intervención "*La Estrategia Global y una política común de seguridad y defensa más fuerte*". No se trata sólo de diseñar una estrategia, sino un plan que pueda llevarse a la práctica. Este es el sentido de su presentación a la Comisión Europea. No es sólo una estrategia en términos de seguridad, sino de defensa, esto es, en términos de defensa del territorio de la UE, y basada en los valores y principios de los Tratados de la UE. Supone un fortalecimiento de capacidades y habilidades, que están en poder de los Estados miembros, pero también la necesaria coordinación entre los mismos para ser más útiles como socio estratégico de la OTAN.

Una de las notas de la Estrategia Global será su transversalidad: energía, lucha contra el terrorismo, tratamiento de la inmigración, son algunos de los problemas a los que hay que dar respuesta. Esto supone un enfoque multidisciplinar y coherente entre las diversas dimensiones, y la consiguiente coordinación entre los diversos Departamentos de la Comisión Europea.

En este contexto y en relación con la Estrategia Global, emergen como deberes del Parlamento, acercar la Estrategia a la ciudadanía europea, y reducir las brechas y problemas de coordinación, en definitiva, tender puentes para superar las divisiones en torno a la construcción de la Estrategia y también a la hora de su puesta en práctica.

El Sr. Jaap de HOOP SCHEFFER, Presidente del Consejo Consultivo de Asuntos Exteriores de los Países Bajos y Catedrático de Política internacional y Diplomacia en la Universidad de Leiden, diserta sobre el tema "*¿Por qué los parlamentarios deberían desear o necesitar ser más participativos en la defensa?*".



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Tras agradecer el liderazgo de Javier Solana¹ en la materia que nos ocupa, señala que la responsabilidad global de la Unión europea está demandando una profundización de la cooperación en defensa, al tiempo que Obama hace un llamamiento para una corresponsabilidad con los Estados Unidos a la hora de abordar los crecientes conflictos y amenazas para la seguridad global, y en su opinión la UE no está todavía preparada. Así se ha visto en Mali. Al mismo tiempo, asistimos a una crisis de credibilidad de la misma Unión Europea, la ciudadanía está descontenta y culpa a la UE de lo que no funciona. Defender a la defensa no es fácil, en la política interna; tampoco lo es, lógicamente, en una Europa con una ciudadanía descontenta: esto avoca, en definitiva, a un dilema de gobernanza. Se demanda más cooperación, mayor responsabilidad en Europa, mientras que crece también la presión para la toma de decisiones autónoma en los Estados miembros. Por eso es necesario este seminario. El papel del parlamento como legitimador del envío de tropas, que es parte de la esencia de la soberanía de cada Estado miembro. Mali, Afganistán, Kosovo, Balcanes, el papel de Rusia en el conflicto Sirio...En definitiva, ¿qué hacer en este escenario complejo?

Puede expresarse todo ello también con el conocido dilema: "¿Compartir soberanía o perder soberanía?" En el *Food for Thought Paper* se apuntan soluciones para esta cooperación, en los niveles intraparlamentario y extraparlamentario.

Por último, señala un apunte de dificultad del control del gobierno si se hace un micro-control de las operaciones, como ocurrió en el caso del parlamento de Holanda, su país, respecto de las operaciones en Afganistán.

El Sr. Guy VERHOFSTADT, miembro del Parlamento Europeo, actualmente Portavoz del Grupo (ALDE), Alianza de Liberales y Demócratas por Europa, sobre el tema "*¿Cómo embarcarse en la vía hacia unas Fuerzas militares europeas integradas?*"

La doctrina Obama, en su opinión, y tomada en términos de corresponsabilidad, es muy cruda; en Libia, tras la intervención de EEUU, Europa debe gestionar el día después de los bombardeos, y lo mismo ocurre en Siria. La CED (Comunidad Europea de Defensa) fue un plan muy oportuno ya en los cincuenta, 1954, y la Alta Representante, Sra. Mogherini, ha puesto el dedo en la llaga cuando demanda el establecimiento de una Estrategia Global que en estos momentos está elaborándose, y que ayude a la integración europea en la cuestión de la defensa. Sobre el descontento de la ciudadanía, sostiene que los ciudadanos no están enfadados, cuando comprenden que se trata de una defensa común, sí lo están respecto del euro, o los problemas económico-sociales, pero una inmensa mayoría están de acuerdo en establecer una defensa común. Hay que hacerse a la idea de que el mecanismo de toma de

¹ SOLANA, JAVIER. «Ten years of European Security and Defence Policy», ESDP newsletter. European Security and Defence Policy 1999-2009. Octubre 2009.
<http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/esdp-newsletter-special-issue-esdp10/>



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decisiones en defensa no es operativo en absoluto. Simple y llanamente, con un voto en contra, puede paralizarse una operación querida por el resto de los Estados miembros. Defiende por tanto la existencia de una Comunidad europea de Defensa. Señala que los papeles de Solana y Obama, pueden quedar en nada en la práctica. 2017 es una buena fecha, a los 60 años de los Tratados de Roma, puede ser un buen momento para establecer unas bases comunes para la construcción de la Comunidad Europea de Defensa.-Es crucial para la supervivencia de la Unión Europea.

El Sr. Jolyon HOWORTH. Catedrático Jean Monnet de Política Europea, y Catedrático emérito de Estudios Europeos en la Universidad de Bath, “*La cooperación en la defensa europea y el compromiso de los parlamentarios*”.

En su opinión, el *Atlantic Paper* debe leerse (<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>).

Tras citar el concepto de *government* de Lincoln, (gobierno del pueblo), admite su preferencia por el gobierno con el pueblo.- Dar participación a la gente. En su opinión, la optimización y legitimación de los resultados de la Estrategia Global, es el papel de los Parlamentos en este ámbito.

La dicotomía entre los dos tipos de soberanía se advierte en el “*Food for thought*” paper. Economía, defensa y fronteras, son los tres objetos de la soberanía. La cooperación en defensa no es una opción, sino un imperativo. La política se está haciendo ferozmente nacional. Necesitamos una política, una Comunidad Europea de Defensa, pero puede estar fracasando, si no la construimos desde la base. Los parlamentos pueden ayudar a construir la política de defensa. Pueden ayudar a comprender cómo maximizar la soberanía en términos de eficacia. Para ello es necesario crear un debate parlamentario transnacional.

Otro punto importante son las relaciones de Europa con Estados Unidos en materia de Defensa. ¿Dependencia o relativa autonomía?. Muchos ciudadanos tradicionalmente se muestran partidarios de la desmilitarización.

La mayoría de los parlamentarios europeos estarian de acuerdo en ahondar en cooperación en defensa, pero al mismo tiempo, piden independencia o autonomía respecto de los EEUU. ¿Que entendemos por mayor implicación entre la OTAN y los EEUU?

Tras esta intervención tiene lugar un debate con los asistentes.

Finalmente, la Presidenta del Seminario, Sra. Angeline EISINK, cierra la sesión con unas conclusiones teniendo en cuenta todas las intervenciones, las de los ponentes y las de los intervinientes en el debate. Invita a una profundización de estas cuestiones en las sesiones del día siguiente.

La sesión finaliza a las 16.45.



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El martes 15 marzo, a las 9,45 h, en la misma sede del Edificio Europa, comienza la segunda sesión del Seminario, "Profundizar en la cooperación en materia de defensa, ¿Reforzar la implicación parlamentaria?"

La Sra. Angellen EISINK presenta la sesión, con las 5 líneas de debate en torno a las que se deberían presentar las conclusiones al final de las sesiones de hoy: El papel de los parlamentos en la cooperación en defensa; el papel de los parlamentos en la presión entre homólogos; menos participación voluntaria y otras herramientas; el papel del Parlamento Europeo y, en particular, de su Comisión SEDE (Subcomisión de seguridad y defensa), y de los parlamentos nacionales; los acuerdos de defensa plurianuales.

Vuelve a subrayar la importancia de esta debate, para que los parlamentos hablen de sus procedimientos, porque la defensa de la defensa es una importante misión parlamentaria, y la seguridad no es únicamente una cuestión presupuestaria sino de cooperación. En definitiva, porque la Estrategia no puede llevarse a la práctica sin política.

La Sra. Constanze STEIZENMÜLLER, profesora del Centro sobre Estados Unidos y Europa de la Institución Brookings y experta en política exterior alemana, europea y transatlántica, presenta el panel de esta segunda sesión.

1. Las relaciones entre EU y USA. Relaciones bilaterales.
2. Los conflictos al Este y Sur de Europa, y las cuestiones relacionadas con migración y refugio y su influencia en la movilidad.
3. Recordar la importancia del orden público europeo y del territorio europeo. La movilidad y las fronteras. Necesitamos invertir en seguridad y en resiliencia.
4. Inversión en inteligencia y lucha contra el terrorismo. Diálogo. Culturas e intereses nacionales muy diferentes.
5. Capacidades en defensa. Toma de decisiones. ¿Interdependencia o control en las instituciones comunitarias?

En primer lugar Interviene el Sr. Joe COELMONT, investigador senior en el Real Instituto Egmont de Bélgica para las Relaciones Internacionales, y en el Real Instituto de Bélgica para la Defensa. Diserta sobre "Herramientas para una PCSD, más fuerte".

Centra su intervención en las relaciones entre el PE y los parlamentos nacionales para profundizar la PCSD, en el marco de la necesidad de una Estrategia de seguridad global, que se hace imprescindible para funcionar como estructura política del tamaño de un continente, y así reflejar adecuadamente el equilibrio de poder en el mundo actual, en orden a tener relaciones con otros actores de este tamaño, singularmente Estados Unidos. La auténtica amenaza para la UE no son los conflictos en sus fronteras, sino perder a los aliados, en particular a los estados miembros de la OTAN y los Estados Unidos.



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También es un pilar fundamental para construir una Comunidad europea de defensa la opinión pública, y para reforzar la credibilidad de la UE en esta materia, es fundamental la Estrategia global. Otro importante pilar será, el papel del Parlamento Europeo, en relación de cooperación estratégica con los parlamentos nacionales. Para ello será fundamental la cooperación entre la Comisión de Defensa del Parlamento Europeo y sus homólogas en los parlamentos nacionales, con reuniones periódicas sobre el estado de la defensa europea, tanto en capacidades civiles como militares. Sólo así será posible establecer un diálogo estructurado entre el Parlamento europeo y el Congreso de los Estados Unidos.

Sr. Arnaud DANJEAN. Eurodiputado y expresidente de la Subcomisión de seguridad y defensa del Parlamento europeo. También es Vicepresidente de la Delegación del Parlamento Europeo en la Asamblea Parlamentaria de la OTAN. Su intervención lleva por título *"La evolución del papel del Parlamento europeo en la cooperación para la defensa, y los instrumentos para el refuerzo de la PCSD"*.

En primer lugar recuerda que en esta materia de la cooperación en defensa debe partirse de hecho de que la responsabilidad última en materia de presupuesto, envío de tropas y planificación y legitimación corresponde al parlamento nacional. Hay mucha labor que hacer en los parlamentos nacionales; el papel del Parlamento europeo es pequeño, todavía, en competencias, y afirma que la subcomisión de defensa de que fue Vicepresidente, siendo muy útil para la cooperación, no termina de ser resolutiva. A ello se suma la desinformación de la ciudadanía y la fragmentación política. Así, no hace tanto tiempo, el informe anual sobre PCSD, se aprobaba con voto favorable de 2/3, una mayoría muy importante. Ahora existe mucha mayor fragmentación, singularmente entre los euroescépticos, que no consideran prioritario tener una PCSD.

Los instrumentos más útiles para profundizar en la cooperación en defensa son las Conferencias Interparlamentarias; son útiles para reunir información, pero es necesario un formato flexible, visitas sobre el terreno, tanto por parte de los parlamentos nacionales como por el Parlamento europeo, pues los embajadores de la PCSD deben ser los parlamentarios; deben además realizarse visitas a Bruselas, a las personas específicamente dedicadas a la PCSD; sin olvidar el control parlamentario (y en este sentido sería recomendable, previamente, el *Annual Defence progress meeting*)- y la formulación de propuestas. Para una mayor cooperación entre el PE y los parlamentos nacionales es útil la presencia de los parlamentos nacionales en las reuniones de la Subcomisión de defensa del parlamento europeo, para que se sepa lo que se está haciendo. A su vez, las instituciones comunitarias deben ser más assertivas con los Parlamentos nacionales. Por ejemplo el Senado belga convocó sesiones para la realización de *hearings* de oficiales de la PCSD. Todo ello en orden a que los parlamentos nacionales puedan desempeñar mejor su responsabilidad, por lo que necesitan disponer de tanta información como sea posible.



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Sr. David HOBBS, Secretario General de la Asamblea Parlamentaria de la OTAN. Su intervención se centra en el papel de la Asamblea parlamentaria de la OTAN en el momento actual.

Comienza recordando que la Asamblea Parlamentaria de la OTAN se compone de parlamentarios nacionales, que tienen responsabilidad en el diseño de las decisiones de uso de las fuerzas armadas, en la posible enmienda de los tratados, en los presupuestos, en la opinión pública, y finalmente en la toma de decisiones. Es evidente que en la cooperación en defensa debe haber una aproximación transversal, por ejemplo, no puede hablarse de capacidades, sin hacer referencia a presupuesto, a la eficiencia de los recursos y su control.

Destaca el importante papel de los parlamentarios como pieza clave para la relación entre la OTAN y la UE. Los artículos 43 y 44 del Tratado de la Unión Europea², necesitan respuesta rápida, y parlamentarios formados en estas materias; la OTAN es un foro de deliberación colectiva, y debe proveerse una valor añadido a las capacidades nacionales; relaciones con pares, visitas sobre el terreno, *expertise*, son importantes para los Parlamentarios nacionales. La Asamblea Parlamentaria de la OTAN debe, en definitiva, su razón de ser a la diplomacia parlamentaria, extremadamente útil ante los nuevos desafíos, y es el vehículo para la transparencia que debe existir, en los términos apropiados, en la cooperación en defensa.

Sr. Fred TEEVEN. Diputado de la Cámara de Representantes de los Países Bajos, por el Partido Popular para la Libertad y la Democracia, Vicepresidente de la Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores y vocal de la Comisión de Defensa. Su intervención: "Reforzar la cooperación europea en defensa mediante acuerdos de defensa plurianuales".

² Artículo 43

1. Las misiones contempladas en el apartado 1 del artículo 42, en las que la Unión podrá recurrir a medios civiles y militares, abarcarán las actuaciones conjuntas en materia de desarme, las misiones humanitarias y de rescate, las misiones de asesoramiento y asistencia en cuestiones militares, las misiones de prevención de conflictos y de mantenimiento de la paz, las misiones en las que intervengan fuerzas de combate para la gestión de crisis, incluidas las misiones de restablecimiento de la paz y las operaciones de estabilización al término de los conflictos. Todas estas misiones podrán contribuir a la lucha contra el terrorismo, entre otras cosas mediante el apoyo prestado a terceros países para combatirlo en su territorio.

2. El Consejo adoptará las decisiones relativas a las misiones contempladas en el apartado 1, y en ellas definirá el objetivo y el alcance de estas misiones y las normas generales de su ejecución. El Alto Representante de la Unión para Asuntos Exteriores y Política de Seguridad, bajo la autoridad del Consejo y en contacto estrecho y permanente con el Comité Político y de Seguridad, se hará cargo de la coordinación de los aspectos civiles y militares de dichas misiones.

Artículo 44

1. En el marco de las decisiones adoptadas de conformidad con el artículo 43, el Consejo podrá encomendar la realización de una misión a un grupo de Estados miembros que lo deseen y que dispongan de las capacidades necesarias para tal misión. La gestión de la misión se acordará entre dichos Estados miembros, en asociación con el Alto Representante de la Unión para Asuntos Exteriores y Política de Seguridad.

2. Los Estados miembros que participen en la realización de la misión informarán periódicamente al Consejo acerca del desarrollo de la misma, por propia iniciativa o a petición de un Estado miembro. Los Estados miembros participantes comunicarán de inmediato al Consejo si la realización de la misión acarrea consecuencias importantes o exige una modificación del objetivo, alcance o condiciones de la misión establecidos en las decisiones a que se refiere el apartado 1. En tales casos, el Consejo adoptará las decisiones necesarias.



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Se remite en primer lugar a lo expuesto en el *Food for thought paper*, y a la idea clave de que no es posible fortalecer la PCSD sin los parlamentos nacionales. Existen dos niveles, europeo y nacional, para fortalecer la PCSD. En ambos ámbitos es muy útil el instrumento de los acuerdos plurianuales. Dinamarca y Suecia son un buen ejemplo (ver Anexo IV). Se trata de una planificación presupuestaria plurianual en materia de defensa.

En el nivel europeo podría suponer una ventaja para discutir una más ajustada planificación, y ayudaría a una mayor transparencia en la coordinación entre los Estados miembros. Holanda tiene un debate acerca de este instrumento. Es un instrumento útil en particular para el debate presupuestario con los EEUU, donde está establecido.

Tras esta intervención tiene lugar un diálogo con los asistentes. La sesión finaliza a las 11h.

A las 11.30 comienza la Tercera sesión: "La toma de decisiones en los parlamentos y el despliegue rápido".

Modera asimismo la Sra. Constanze STEIZENMÜLLER. Los temas a desarrollar en esta sesión giran en torno a la mayor concienciación, los mecanismos para obtener la confianza parlamentaria en este tipo de intervenciones, la implicación de los parlamentos en la fase preparatoria, red de comisiones permanentes y la delegación previa del consentimiento.

Toma en primer lugar la palabra el Sr. Walter KOLBOW. Vicepresidente de la Comisión Rühe (Comisión para el control y la salvaguarda de los derechos parlamentarios en relación con los mandatos de las Fuerzas Armadas alemanas en el extranjero)

Ha hecho una defensa de la defensa entre sus colegas, sobre la base de que es necesaria tanto la cooperación con las fuerzas de la ONU, como las fuerzas europeas para el mantenimiento de la paz. La Constitución alemana, la Ley Fundamental de Bonn, en el contexto en el que se redactó, obviamente no puede responder al problema que estamos tratando aquí, el parlamento no puede autorizar envío de tropas. Estrictamente hablando, sería necesaria una reforma constitucional en esta materia. Sin embargo, gracias al funcionamiento de la Comisión Rühe, que ha introducido un alto grado de control parlamentario, nunca ha habido un problema en este sentido, de responder a las demandas de despliegue, aun sin reformar la Constitución. Obviamente Alemania está entre el grupo de países que exigen un alto grado de control parlamentario, lo que no significa ineeficacia ni demora en la respuesta.

Seguidamente interviene la Sra. Ana GOMES, eurodiputada, miembro de la Subcomisión de seguridad y defensa del Parlamento europeo y miembro de la Comisión de derechos civiles, justicia y asuntos de interior. Aboga por un papel más fuerte del Parlamento europeo en la defensa, porque de hecho así está ocurriendo hoy día, con los limitados instrumentos de que se dispone. Por ejemplo, en el Congo, en 2006, se obtuvo una resolución del Parlamento europeo para el despliegue de la misión, antes de que el Consejo Europeo se reuniera. Ya en 2011, rápidamente se obtuvo una resolución del Parlamento europeo, un mes después del



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comienzo de la revolución en Libia, lo que posibilitó el rápido despliegue de la misión de PCSD allí. También señala que a su juicio es urgente reducir la brecha entre la seguridad interna e internacional, por lo que pone en valor el liderazgo de Mogherini, en la conexión entre seguridad interna e internacional, con su idea de la Estrategia global. Finalmente, critica la desinversión en defensa que están protagonizando los Estados miembros, y achaca este problema a un déficit de comunicación. Un ponente anterior, Sr. Arnaud DANJEAN, se ha referido a los euroescépticos. La unión entre seguridad externa e interna es difícil, en las percepciones de los estamentos políticos y entre los europarlamentarios.

Sr. Tierry TARDY. Analista senior en el Instituto de la Unión Europea para los Estudios en Seguridad. Anteriormente, investigador senior en el Centro de Ginebra para la Política de Seguridad. Diserta sobre *"la implicación de los parlamentos en las operaciones del artículo 44"*. (Ver Anexo V). Analiza, por tanto, en concreto, cuál papel de los parlamentos en despliegue rápido. Señala dos prenotandos en esta cuestión: los parlamentarios tienen obstáculos para comprender y aceptar las operaciones militares, en general; y en segundo lugar, a cierto nivel el papel del parlamento no existe, pues en situaciones de emergencia, los países encuentran la forma de actuar y luego conseguir la legitimación parlamentaria de dicha actuación.

Explica que el Art. 44 supone mayor flexibilidad y rapidez en el despliegue rápido. Se "subcontrata" a un grupo de países que, siempre sobre la base de la voluntariedad en la intervención, están dispuestos a actuar de parte de la UE; por ejemplo, en Mali, se inició con Francia en exclusiva, y fue el país que lideró la operación.

El art. 44 no crea una nueva categoría de operaciones. La PCSD continúa con el control de la operación. El art. 44 no es una respuesta a la lentitud de los Estados miembros, sino a las carencias en la planificación de la seguridad y defensa común de la UE. Existen situaciones en que la UE debe desplegar fuerzas rápidamente, en dos o tres días, pero es bastante raro este escenario, sino más bien, en un mes o dos.

El art. 44 necesita de una planificación común. Si una operación debe desplegarse rápidamente, y los parlamentos nacionales son un poco más lentos, esa es la utilidad del art. 44, dar algo más de margen a los Estados miembros para reaccionar a este escenario. Es sabido que entre los mecanismos de decisión parlamentaria existen diversos niveles de control parlamentario y, por tanto de velocidad en la autorización para el despliegue. Respuesta rápida: Francia. Respuesta lenta: Alemania. Finalmente, el artículo 44 es una vía para hacer compatible la unanimidad en el Consejo Europeo, que se establece en el artículo 22 del Tratado de la Unión Europea para lo relativo a la PSCD, con la previsión del artículo 42.7 del mismo Tratado. Y termina diciendo que los creyentes en la UE, nos alegramos de la aplicación de estas nuevas previsiones.

General Martin WIJNEN. Comandante en Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas de Holanda. Realiza una distinción entre operaciones de defensa de la paz, operaciones de estabilidad, operaciones de combate y justifica la necesidad de una cooperación en defensa. Además de los Grupos



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europeos de Combate, expone el ejemplo de la cooperación en Defensa entre Alemania y Holanda, para señalar que en este ámbito, propiamente, estamos hablando no ya de cooperación, sino de integración. La cooperación entre Alemania y los Países Bajos es el embrión, a su juicio, de la Comunidad europea de defensa: Integración de medios humanos; la clave en todo es la interoperabilidad técnica, procedural, y sobre todo cultural.

Desde el ámbito político ¿qué puede hacerse? Compromiso, generación de recursos, eficiencia y eficacia. Entrenamiento, equipamiento. Los políticos entran en estas dimensiones. Sobre todo, la dimensión de legitimación y la dimensión de información a la ciudadanía sobre la necesidad de unas fuerzas armadas para el mantenimiento de la paz.

Seguidamente tiene lugar un diálogo entre los asistentes.

La sesión finalizó a las 13 h.

Para terminar, la Sra. Angelien EISINK, Presidenta del Seminario, extrajo las siguientes conclusiones, emplazando a la toma de posición en torno a estas cuestiones en la próxima Conferencia Interparlamentaria de la Haya, que tendrá lugar los días 6 a 8 de abril de 2016.

1. Defensa de la defensa en el Parlamento.
 - a. Los acuerdos de defensa plurianuales
2. Incrementar el compromiso Interparlamentario
 - a. La cooperación entre la Conferencia Interparlamentaria de la PCSD y la Asamblea Parlamentaria de la OTAN.
 - b. Fortalecer las estructuras de la Conferencia Interparlamentaria de la PCSD.
3. Incrementar el nivel de conocimiento.
 - a. Visitas conjuntas sobre el terreno
 - b. Consciencia de la interdependencia mutua

Tras la exposición de estas conclusiones, que han sido recogidas más ampliamente en el *Clingendael Report*, que figura como Anexo VI de este Informe, finalizó el seminario a las 13.10 h.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Sara Sieira Mucientes". The signature is fluid and cursive, with some loops and variations in line thickness.

Palacio del Congreso de los Diputados, 5 de abril de 2016.
Sara Sieira Mucientes. Letrada de las Cortes Generales.

MEXOI

The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

N
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2016

Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar

Amsterdam
14-15 March

Programme



Clingendael

Netherlands Institute of International Relations

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Netherlands Institute of International Relations

Welcome

We are delighted to welcome you to Amsterdam and to the Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar "The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation".

Anticipating the new EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy and the need for a concrete follow-up, the Netherlands Presidency aims to start a discussion on the strategy's implications for the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) with a focus on deepening defence cooperation. An often forgotten dimension in this regard is the role of parliaments.

Parliamentary support is vital to achieve a stronger CSDP and deeper defence cooperation. It is therefore important to discuss this relatively neglected aspect of European defence. It is with this aim in mind that the Netherlands Ministry of Defence and the Clingendael Institute are organising this seminar.

This Netherlands EU Presidency seminar will focus on the involvement of national parliaments and the European Parliament in the EU's security and defence policies. The aim of this seminar is to obtain a better understanding of the role of parliaments in strengthening CSDP and defence cooperation. In addition, the seminar will address parliamentary decision-making on the deployment of rapid reaction forces, but also broader political-strategic parliamentary commitment in relation to the Global Strategy process.

The seminar is to deliver concrete recommendations and ideas on how to move forward on parliamentary involvement, also for the benefit of the Interparliamentary Conference (IPC) on CFSP/CSDP on 6-8 April 2016 in The Hague. The results of this seminar will also be taken into account during the final Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar on June 10.

This seminar brings together members of national parliaments and the European Parliament, representatives from EU member states' Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs, as well as high-level representatives from EU institutions, representations and selected think tanks and universities. We wish you a pleasant stay in Amsterdam and we are very much looking forward to the valuable contributions of speakers and participants.

Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert
Netherlands Minister of Defence

Ko Colijn
General Director Clingendael Institute

Seminar Programme

Monday 14 March

Maastricht 14.00 *Registration and coffee/tea*

Rijnsburg 15.00 **Opening by the seminar chair, Angellen Eijsink, Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Netherlands House of Representatives**

15.15 **Session 1 – The Global Strategy, CSDP and the Parliamentary Dimension**

- **Alfredo Conte**, Head Strategic Planning Division, European External Action Service
- **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, Professor Leiden University, Chair of the Netherlands Advisory Council on International Affairs
- **Guy Verhofstadt**, MEP, former Prime Minister of Belgium
- **Jolyon Howorth**, Professor University of Bath, Yale University

Interview on the key challenges and potential for parliamentary involvement in the Global Strategy and CSDP, led by **Jacki Davis**

16.45 **Closure by the seminar chair**

20.00 *Dinner at West-Indisch Huis*

*The proceedings will take place under the Chatham House Rule
to stimulate open and frank discussions.*

Tuesday 15 March

Rijn ♀ 09.30 Opening by the seminar chair, **Angellen Eijsink**

09.35 **Session 2 - Deepening Defence Cooperation, Strengthening Parliamentary Involvement?**

Moderator: **Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Robert Bosch Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

- **Brig. Gen. (ret.) Jo Coelmont**, Senior Associate Fellow, Egmont Institute
- **Arnaud Danjean**, MEP former Chair of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE)
- **Roderich Kiesewetter**, Member of the German Bundestag
- **Fred Teeven**, Member of the Netherlands House of Representatives

Maae ♀ 11.00 *Break*

Rijn ♀ 11.30 **Session 3 - Parliamentary Decision-Making and Rapid Deployment**

Moderator: **Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Robert Bosch Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

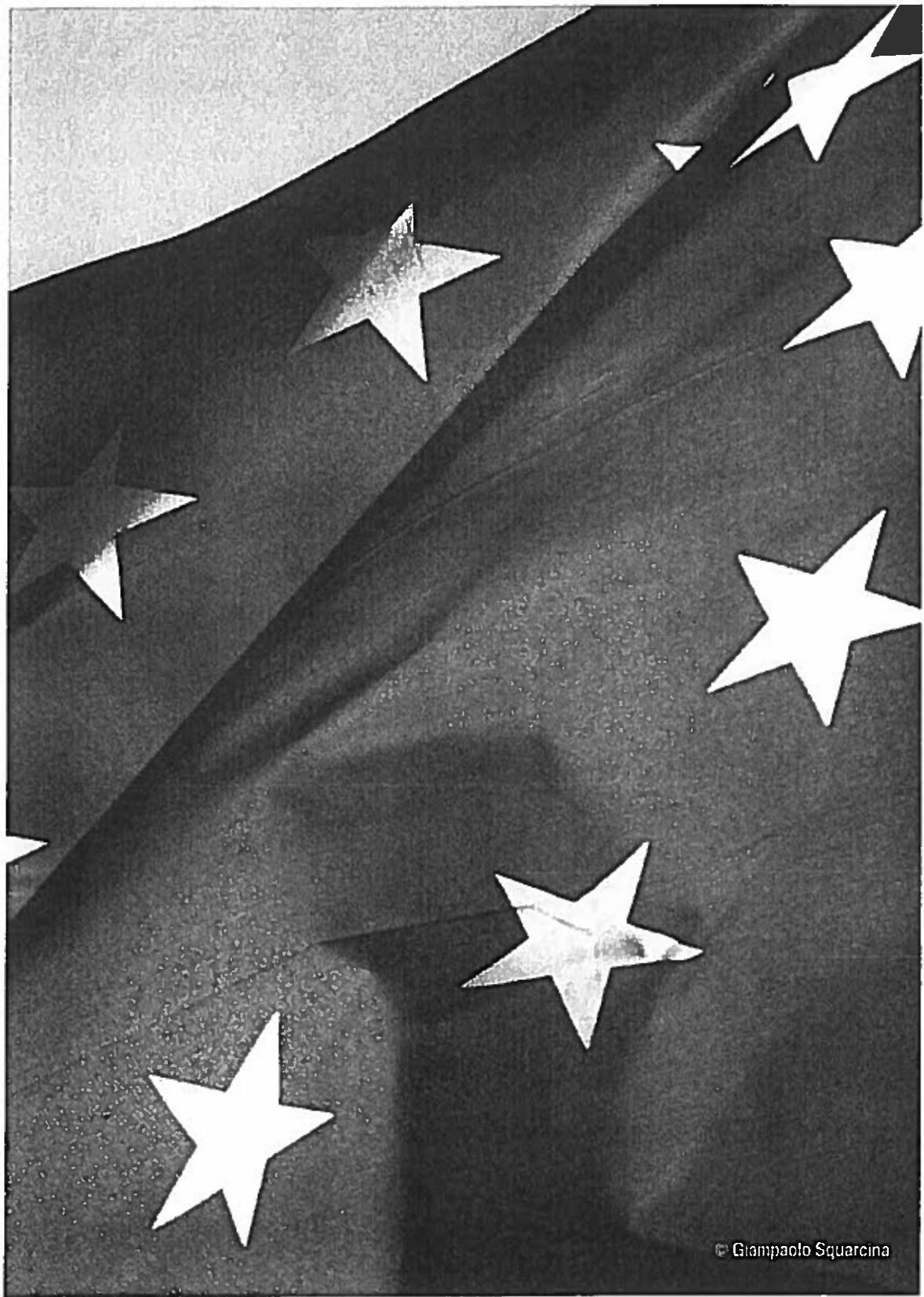
- **Walter Kalbow**, Deputy Chair of the German Committee on Deployment of the Bundeswehr
- **Ana Gomes**, MEP, Member of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE)
- **Thierry Tardy**, Senior Analyst, European Union Institute for Security Studies
- **Maj. Gen. Martin Wijnen**, Deputy Commander Royal Netherlands Army

13.00 Wrapping up and closure by the seminar chair

Moezel ♀ 13.10 *Farewell lunch buffet*

14.30 *End of seminar*

The proceedings will take place under the Chatham House Rule to stimulate open and frank discussions.



© Giampaolo Squarcina

Seminar chair and moderators



Angelien Eijsink, *chair of the seminar*

Angelien Eijsink has been a member of the Netherlands House of Representatives since 2003, where she is the spokesperson for Defence for the Labour Party (PvdA). Ms Eijsink is the chair of the Netherlands standing committee on Foreign Affairs and since November 2014 vice-chair of the Netherlands delegation of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Previously, she held several positions at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Jacki Davis, *moderator session 1*

Jacki Davis is a leading commentator and analyst on European Union affairs. She is an experienced journalist, speaker and moderator, editor, broadcaster, and a member of the Governing Board of the European Policy Centre think tank. Ms Davis has been based in Brussels for over 20 years, and previously held positions at the European Policy Centre, E!Sharp, and European Voice.



Constanze Stelzenmüller, *moderator session 2 and 3*

Constanze Stelzenmüller is the inaugural Robert Bosch senior fellow at the Centre on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution. Ms Stelzenmüller is an expert on German, European and transatlantic foreign and security policy and strategy. Previously, she was a senior transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the director of the GMF's Berlin office.

Session 1

The Global Strategy, CSDP and the Parliamentary Dimension

Topics for discussion

The Global Strategy and its implications for CSDP and the parliamentary dimension; the role of parliaments in defence cooperation, capability generation, troop readiness, the deployment of CSDP operations and missions and the use of EU Battlegroups



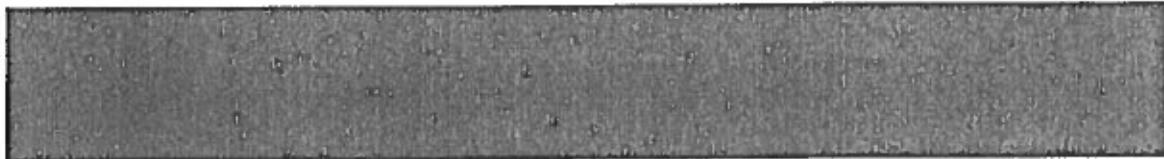
Alfredo Conte

Alfredo Conte is Head of the Strategic Planning Division in the European External Action Service. Mr Conte entered the Italian diplomatic service in 1993 and has held postings in Hong Kong and Berlin. He worked in the Cabinet of the Minister for several foreign ministers before being seconded to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union as Senior Advisor to the Director of Policy.



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer is a professor of international politics and diplomacy at Leiden University and chair of the Netherlands Advisory Council on International Affairs. Mr de Hoop Scheffer was NATO Secretary General from 2004 to 2009. Prior to this, he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and he has had a long career in Dutch politics as a member of the Netherlands House of Representatives.

**Guy Verhofstadt**

Guy Verhofstadt has been a Member of the European Parliament since 2009, where he is the leader of the Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE). Prior to this, Mr Verhofstadt served as Prime Minister of Belgium from 1999 to 2008 and has held a variety of positions in Belgian politics. Mr Verhofstadt has written a number of books on Europe, of which *The Disease of Europe (and the Rediscovery of the Ideal)* is his most recent contribution.

**Jolyon Howorth**

Jolyon Howorth is Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics *ad personam* and Emeritus Professor of European Studies at the University of Bath. He has been a visiting professor of political science at Yale since 2002. Mr Howorth is a leading scholar in the field of European politics and history, especially in the field of security and defence policy and transatlantic relations.

Session 2

Deepening Defence Cooperation, Strengthening Parliamentary Involvement?

Topics for discussion

Role of parliaments in defence cooperation; role of parliaments in peer pressure, less voluntarism and other tools; the role of the EP/SEDE and national parliaments; multi-annual defence agreements



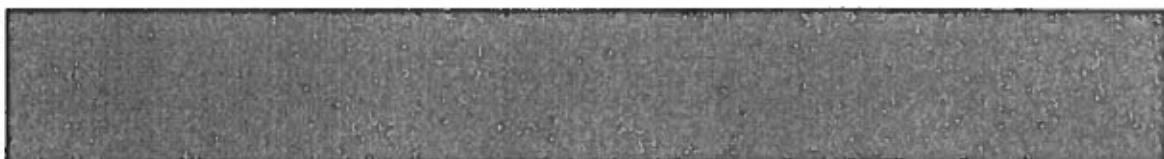
Jo Coelmont

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Jo Coelmont is Senior Associate Fellow at the Belgium Royal Institute for International Relations Egmont and Senior Fellow at the Belgium Royal Higher Institute for Defence. He was the Belgian Permanent Representative to the EU Military Committee (EUMC) and military advisor to the Belgian Ambassador to the Political and Security Committee (PSC) of the European Union from 2002-2007.



Arnaud Danjean

Arnaud Danjean is a French member of the European Parliament and the former Chair of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE). He is the Vice-Chair of the Delegation for relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Previously, Mr Danjean has held several positions at the French Ministry of Defence and has been advisor to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

**Roderich Kiesewetter**

Roderich Kiesewetter has been a member of the German Bundestag since 2009. Mr Kiesewetter is currently serving as the spokesperson of the foreign affairs committee and is deputy Head of the German delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference for CFSP/CDSP. His professional and military career involved various command and staff positions, including at the EU Council in Brussels, NATO HQ in Brussels and Mons, at the German Federal Ministry of Defence and several operations abroad.

**Fred Teeven**

Fred Teeven is a Member of the Netherlands House of Representatives for the VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy). He is the Deputy Chair of the Netherlands Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the Defence Committee. Mr Teeven served as State Secretary for Security and Justice from 2010 until 2015. Prior to this, Mr Teeven was a public prosecutor and a tax inspector.

Session 3

Parliamentary Decision-Making and Rapid Deployment

Topics for discussion

Increasing awareness; trust-building mechanisms; parliamentary involvement in the political preparatory phase; network of Standing Committees; pre-delegation of consent; lessons learned from defence cooperation



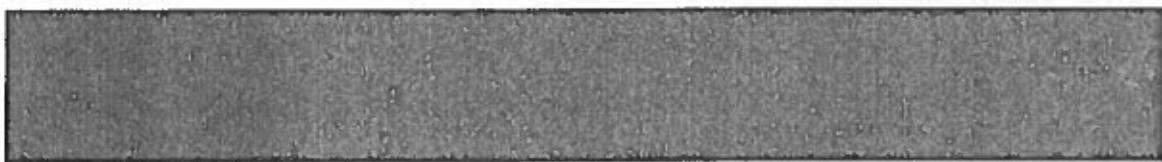
Walter Kolbow

Walter Kolbow was the Deputy Chair of the Commission on the Review and Safeguarding of Parliamentary Rights regarding Mandates for Bundeswehr Missions Abroad (Röhe Commission), which published their final report in June 2015. Previously, he served as Parliamentary State Secretary and Deputy Minister of Defence. Mr Kolbow has been a member of the German Parliament and of the Defence Committee for 28 years, where he served as the spokesman of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).



Ana Gomes

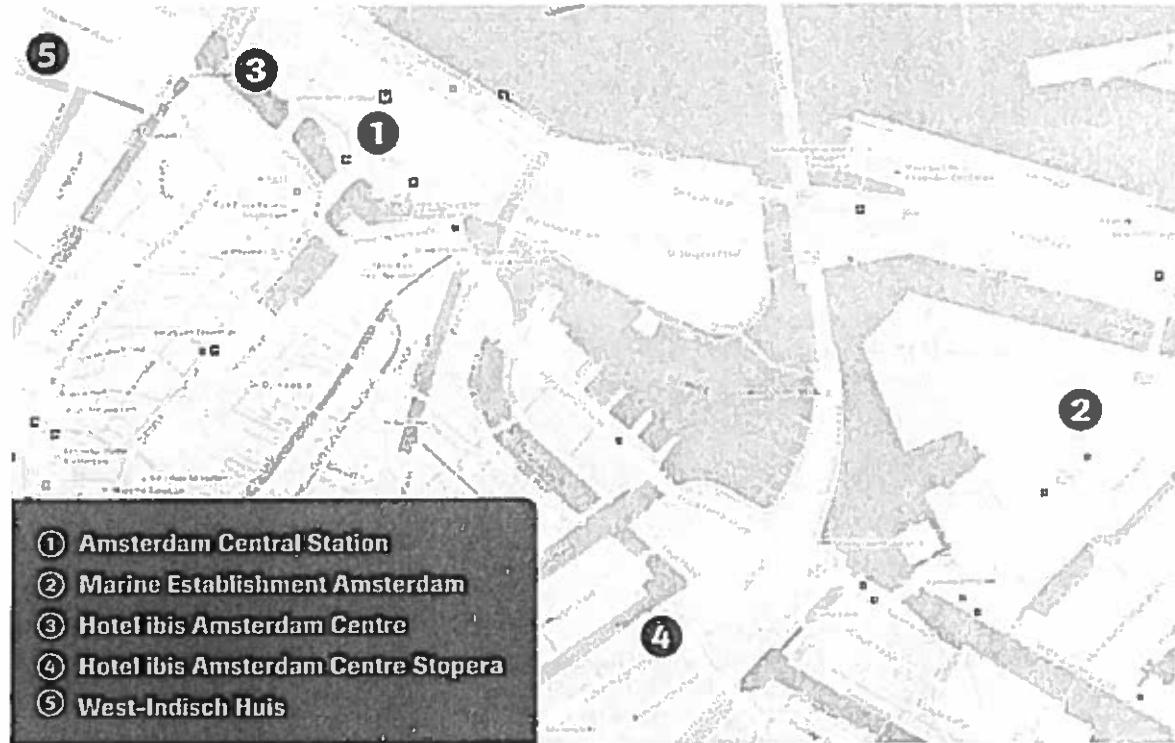
Ana Gomes is a Member of the European Parliament since 2004. Working as a diplomat since 1980, Ana Gomes suspended her career to enter party politics in 2003. In the European Parliament, and as a member of the Subcommittee of Security and Defence and member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs her main areas of activity are human rights, security and defence, international relations, gender issues and development.

**Thierry Tardy**

Thierry Tardy is Senior Analyst at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). Previously he was Senior Fellow at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP). Mr Tardy has published extensively on military and civilian crisis management with a particular focus on the United Nations and the European Union, inter-institutional cooperation in security governance and the EU Common Security and Defence Policy.

**Martin Wijnen**

Major General Martin Wijnen is the Deputy Commander of the Royal Netherlands Army. Prior to this he was Commander of the 43 Mechanised Brigade and has held several operational and staff positions with the Netherlands Ministry of Defence. Previously, Maj. Gen. Wijnen was seconded to the Netherlands National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism.



Seminar venue

Marine Establishment Amsterdam
Kattenburgerstraat 7
1000 BA Amsterdam



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Password: **amsterdam**

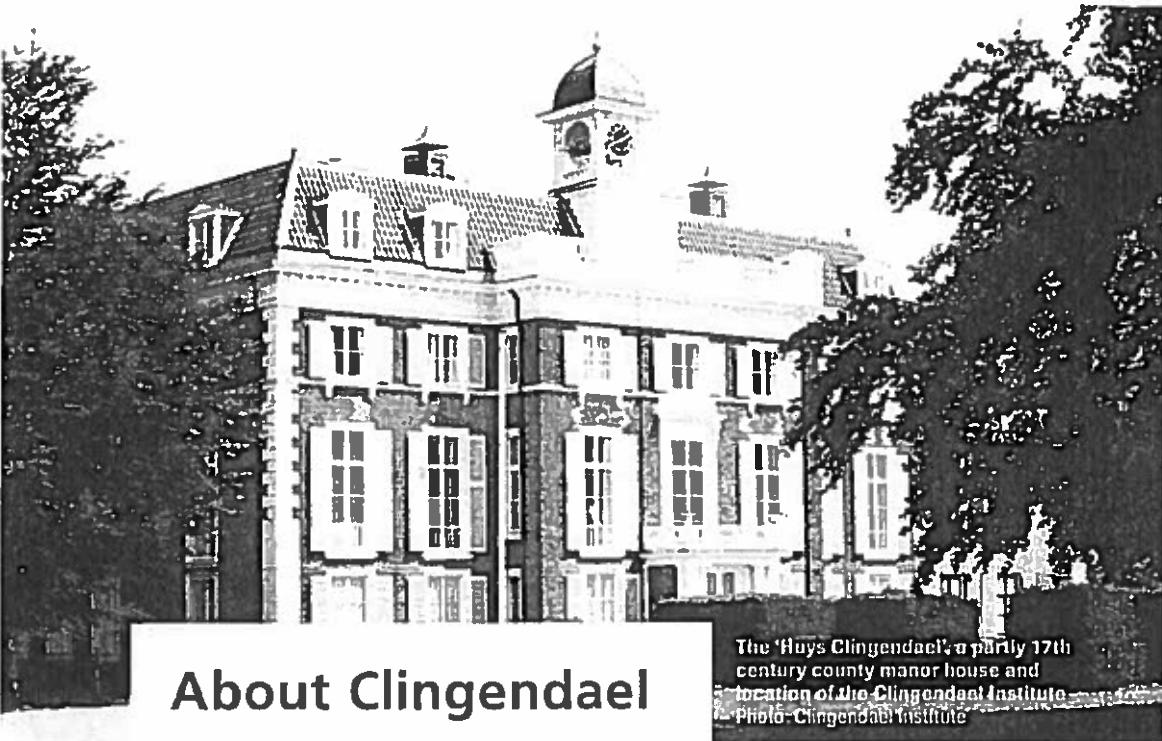
Dinner location

West-Indisch Huis
Herengracht 99
1013 EC Amsterdam

Hotels

Hotel ibis Amsterdam Centre
Stationsplein 49
1012 AB Amsterdam

Hotel ibis Amsterdam Centre Stopera
Valkenburgerstraat 68
1011 LZ Amsterdam



About Clingendael

The 'Huys Clingendael', a partly 17th century county manor house and location of the Clingendael Institute
Photo: Clingendael Institute

The Netherlands' Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael' is a think tank and international diplomatic academy with a focus on trends and developments in international relations and their implications for policy-making and professional practice.

Engaged in worldwide research, training and consultancy activities, the Clingendael Institute provides a platform for policy reflection and discussion among governments, international organisations, civil society and the private sector, as well as a place to pursue professional training. Clingendael is an independent institute and not affiliated with any political, social, or religious movement.

One of Clingendael's primary objectives is to enhance the debate on international affairs. As a non-aligned platform, the Institute serves as a knowledge hub and connects all disciplines and stakeholders in the field of international relations. Based in The Hague, the Netherlands, seat of parliament and international city of peace and justice, where a large number of international organisations and platforms can be found, the Institute finds itself in a unique location.

Within Clingendael two departments are responsible for the Institute's main activities: Clingendael Research and Clingendael Academy. Within the Research Department, the Clingendael Security Unit's main thematic focus lies on international security trend assessment, security and defence issues and counter-terrorism. The Security Unit identifies strategic trends and informs the national and international public debate on international security issues. In addition, it provides high-quality independent, custom made applied research and actionable advice on international security issues.



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EU
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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

ANEXO II

Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar
14-15 March 2016, Amsterdam

List of Participants

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Meade Davis Communications

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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar
14-15 March 2016, Amsterdam

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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar
14-15 March 2016, Amsterdam

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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

Netherlands EU Presidency Seminar
14-15 March 2016, Amsterdam

List of Participants

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Zuwairi Bin Yussof
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Z

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Chef de Cabinet
Royal Netherlands Army

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Hilde Veeken
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Fokker & Damen Schelde

Guy Verhofstadt
Member of Parliament, Leader of the ALDE Group
European Parliament

Gabriel Vlase
Member of Parliament
Romania

Peter Vodrážka
Clerk
Slovak Parliament

Gino van der Voet
Royal Netherlands Army

Frans de Vries
Chairman EU-presidency Committee Young Defence
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Ronald Vuljk
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Professor
VU University Amsterdam

Carolina van Weerd
Student
Netherlands Defence Academy

Martin Wijnen
Deputy Commander
Royal Netherlands Army

X



AMSTERDAM
14-15 MARCH 2016

The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

Background

The European Union is in urgent need of a strategic impulse for its foreign and security policy. The Eastern and Southern flanks of the EU are marked by conflict and instability, with spill-over effects in Europe. The relationship between external and internal security becomes ever more tangible by the recent terrorist attacks in European capitals and growing migratory pressures. Furthermore, international multilateral institutions are under pressure and Europe's position in the global order is being challenged by rising powers. The Global Strategy that is currently being drafted by High Representative Federica Mogherini is urgently needed in order to set out a new strategic course for the EU. The strategy has to address all aspects of the EU's foreign and security policy. Therefore, in an increasingly hostile and conflictual security context, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) should be the cornerstone of a credible and effective European response.

An often forgotten dimension in this regard is the role of parliaments. The support of parliaments is essential to achieve a stronger CSDP and deeper defence cooperation. It is therefore important to discuss this relatively neglected aspect of European defence. With this aim in mind, the Netherlands Ministry of Defence and the Clingendael Institute are organising the seminar "*The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation*" in the context of the Netherlands EU Presidency. The seminar will take place on 14-15 March 2016 in Amsterdam. It was preceded by the seminar "*A Stronger CSDP: Deepening Defence Cooperation*" (Amsterdam, 20-21 January), which discussed the challenges, ambitions and instruments for strengthening CSDP by deepening defence cooperation. The March seminar will provide an opportunity to explore the contribution that parliamentarians can make to strengthen European defence.

To ensure a lively and thought-provoking debate, the Clingendael Institute is issuing this Food-For-Thought Paper. The paper consists of three parts. The first part will discuss why the parliamentary dimension of defence cooperation is important to achieve a stronger CSDP and deeper defence cooperation. Subsequently, the paper discusses the principles that are vital to bring this about. In the third and final part, these principles are translated into actionable proposals for a stronger parliamentary dimension of defence cooperation.¹

¹ The responsibility for the contents of this Food-For-Thought Paper lies solely with the Clingendael Institute.

Why is the parliamentary dimension important?

Defence cooperation is the business of governments, but it is equally that of parliaments. Successful defence cooperation at the multilateral or bilateral level is dependent on support and consent from national parliaments. The deepening of defence cooperation requires a solid parliamentary commitment and extensive cooperation between parliaments from partner countries across borders. This commitment spans the phases from cooperation on defence planning and procurement to the readiness phase of forces, including deployments.

The deepening of defence cooperation in Europe is already affecting individual countries' ability to take autonomous decisions. No individual European country, large or small, can safeguard its security and defence on its own in a world of complex threats and challenges. This is not a new phenomenon. During the Cold War, European countries were dependent on each other and the United States for their defence and nuclear deterrence. This has not changed. However, the fact that security challenges have become so diverse and complex, in combination with the growing responsibility of Europe for its own security and the lack of resources available for defence, now necessitate more and deeper cooperation.

That defence cooperation is not an option but a necessity is starting to be understood. However, the fact that it has consequences for sovereignty in an area which touches upon the heart of the state's decision-making autonomy has not yet fully sunk in. 'Share sovereignty or lose sovereignty' is an often heard warning, which entails accepting a certain dependency on other countries. When sovereignty is understood as the 'ability to act' rather than as the ability to be able to independently make decisions, the concept is more open to working together. This will increase the collective ability of Europe to respond to its security challenges.

The outsourcing of the air policing of the Baltic countries to NATO partners and the pooling of Renegade and Quick Reaction Alert (QRA) tasks for the Benelux air space are vivid examples of operational cooperation with consequences for sovereignty. Governments hatch these initiatives, which often originate from bottom-up in the defence organisation, and despite the fact that eventually parliamentary support is needed, the legislature is often only informed post-hoc. In order for parliaments to be more engaged, they have to better understand the consequences of deepening defence cooperation. This implies that they have to be involved from the outset.

So far, the most extensive progress in defence cooperation has been achieved in the operational area, such as in training, education, exercises and the combined deployment of capabilities. Armament cooperation is more difficult to achieve, due to the predominance of national economic interests but also to the different timelines of national planning. To be able to make progress here, the first demand is for the alignment of multilateral initiatives and national plans. Partner countries will have to abandon national defence planning in isolation. National procedures and regulations on planning, budgeting and procurement are ultimately a matter where parliaments decide. If parliaments are not taken on board with this important prerequisite, progress on collaborative capability planning, acquisition and maintenance will be difficult. Often, parliamentarians are prone to focus on national industrial and economic gains to be had from procurement. A better understanding of the operational, financial and industrial advantages of collaborative procurement would bring a different perspective.

The deepening of defence cooperation requires a solid parliamentary commitment

Moreover, as the role of parliaments in some countries is crucial in deciding on the deployment of troops (e.g. in Germany, Spain and the Netherlands) and is becoming more prominent in others (e.g. in the United Kingdom and France), they have to be engaged during the whole process and not just at the point where they can accept or reject the result. This constitutes a balancing act between creating sufficient parliamentary involvement and avoiding that military operations are micro-managed by political compromises, which could hamper military effectiveness.

This is even more important as today's security challenges demand a rapid response. Rapid Reaction Forces such as the EU Battlegroups (EUBG), the NATO Response Force (NRF)/Very high-readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) and standing multinational forces are dependent on decision-making in various countries for their swift deployment. A EUBG should be able to be deployed within five to ten days of the acceptance of the Crisis Management Concept and the VJTF even has a 48-hour 'notice-to-move' ambition. Have the troop contributing countries to these Rapid Reaction Forces adjusted their decision-making to these short timeframes? And if one country has done so, will other contributors be just as quick? Both the EUBGs and the NRF/VJTF are part of a system of deterrence and assurance, which makes it vital that there is confidence among friends and potential foes that they can be as rapid as they claim to be.

One of the most obvious responses to the question of why parliaments are central to European defence cooperation is, in short: 'money'. In European democracies, parliaments hold the power of the purse in allocating budgets. With the rising costs of equipment and the need for modernisation and innovation, there is a clear case to be made for a reversal of the downward trend to defence budgets across Europe. Parliaments are key in the recognition that sufficient investment in defence is a prerequisite for our security. Moreover, parliaments play an important role in mustering public support for defence spending, but also for European defence cooperation and CSDP.

Another area where parliaments are indispensable is the role that they can play in ensuring that the promises by governments to implement defence cooperation are actually kept. The Netherlands' EU Presidency has opened the debate on issues such as peer pressure, accountability and benchmarking to provide more teeth to the usual method of voluntarism. Lawmakers could demand that their national governments are keeping up their end of the bargain and hold them accountable for progress in, for example, achieving EDA's collaborative spending benchmarks.

Principles to strengthen the parliamentary dimension

It follows from the previous section that for defence cooperation to succeed, the parliamentary dimension of defence cooperation has to be strengthened. A number of principles are central to be able to achieve that. Trust and transparency are the most important among them.

The building of trust between parliaments across countries, particularly between regular clusters of defence cooperation, is a prerequisite to bring about a mutual beneficial cooperation. It makes the acceptance of dependencies easier, and lessens worries about assured access to capabilities. Some like-minded countries that have a history of working together in various fields are more likely to trust each other, also in the defence field. Trust has to be earned and longer-term experiences of predictability and trustworthiness are helpful. Learning about each other's cultural-political attitudes and sensitivities as well as the formal and material obstacles to cooperation are important.

Policy makers and officials from cooperating countries see each other regularly. The intensification of contacts among European policy makers, however, is not matched by increased contacts between parliaments. More trust-building contacts with partner countries across policy-makers and parliamentarians are needed. Regular contacts and information-sharing would foster the awareness of mutual dependencies across EU and NATO nations and are of particular importance for countries that work closely together in clusters.

Deepening defence cooperation impinges on sovereignty in the sense that independent decision-making becomes more limited. Important elements to counter these limitations and to provide for alternative accountability and legitimacy are transparency in defence cooperation policies by governments. This entails regular and extensive information-sharing at early phases of cooperation initiatives and parliamentary involvement. More and earlier parliamentary involvement seems to be contrary to the constitutional role of lawmakers, which is to oversee the policies of governments post-hoc. Yet, ex-ante awareness is indispensable to grasp the responsibilities and dependences involved in far-reaching defence cooperation.

The building of trust between parliaments across countries is a prerequisite to bring about a mutual beneficial cooperation

Ways to strengthen the parliamentary dimension

Strengthening the parliamentary dimension of European defence cooperation requires action on the intra-parliamentary and inter-parliamentary level, but on the part of governments as well. Governments need to provide the necessary support to parliaments to enable them to engage in informed debates and to make informed decisions. Notably with regard to international defence cooperation, governments could supply their parliaments with regular overviews of international defence obligations and their implications.

Within parliaments, the interrelationship between defence and other areas such as the economy, finance, justice and home affairs and transport (including the maritime sector) needs to be taken into account. This can be done by regularly holding joint committee meetings and organising other combined activities such as work visits and briefings. This should bring defence out of its relative isolation, connect it also in parliaments to other government sectors and put it more prominently on the political agenda. This can help build awareness and public support for defence, as well as create broader consensus on defence-related issues within parliaments.

Building on such *intra-parliamentary* exchanges, parliaments can bolster cooperation even further by implementing national multi-year defence agreements. This practice can create several years of stability and clarity on the purpose, policy direction and budgets for the armed forces and the defence sector. These agreements reflect a broad consensus on defence, encompassing coalition and opposition parties and governments, based on all stakeholders, including experts. Based on the examples of Denmark and Sweden, defence agreements promise to increase political commitment, strengthen parliamentary involvement, and foster public support for defence. The stability and clarity provided by multi-year defence agreements also increase opportunities between countries for an alignment of their defence

planning and procurement, operational cooperation, and joint exercises, training and education.

Parliaments should be involved in the early stages of the deepening of defence cooperation, in particular in the case of the cross-border integration of armed forces. The first step is to increase the level of information provided to parliaments, in particular on the (resulting) mutual dependencies between countries. This includes regular reports on defence cooperation obligations, visits to partner countries and also to EU Institutions such as the European External Action Service, the European Defence Agency and the national Permanent Representations to the EU.

In particular in clusters, where the deepening of defence cooperation results in mutual dependencies, information-sharing and raising awareness of obligations needs to be complemented with building trust between parliaments. This can be achieved through regular exchanges such as structural information-sharing between parliamentary defence committees and holding joint committee sessions, work visits and decision-making exercises.

One area where these initiatives are particularly needed is that of rapid response forces. Decision-making procedures of the national parliaments for the preparatory phase of rapid reaction mechanisms and the readiness phase of multinational operational formations need to be streamlined. Thus, the rapid deployment of multinational formations such as the integrated German-Netherlands air mobile force or the UK-led Joint Expeditionary Force should be preceded by quicker parliamentary procedures. This could involve the pre-delegation of parliamentary consent under certain circumstances, such as the preparation or prepositioning of forces or in particular scenarios, such as humanitarian crises and hybrid warfare.

These initiatives on intra-parliamentary and interparliamentary cooperation can feed into, and receive feedback from, parliamentary bodies at the European level. The Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation (IPC) on CFSP/CSDP and the European Parliament (EP) have a role in ensuring effectiveness, coherence and broad support for defence cooperation. Because national parliaments continue to play the key role in European defence cooperation and CSDP, strengthening their interaction implies an increased role for the IPC. For that purpose, a permanent IPC secretariat could be established, or alternatively, the role of the existing COSAC secretariat could be reinforced to that end. The EP subcommittee on defence (SEDE), given its strong information position on defence matters at the EU level, should seek to actively share information with national parliaments.

A stronger CSDP, as well as the related aspects belonging to the Community level such as defence technology and industry and the defence equipment market, require that the EP steps up its involvement in these matters as well. In view of the Preparatory Action on CSDP-related research and the aim to dedicate a substantial part of the post-Horizon 2020 programme to this sector, defence needs to be integrated into the budgetary discussion. This also requires close interaction between SEDE and the Budget Committee. Furthermore, for these discussions the EP needs to have access to all relevant information and advice on defence planning, research and technology, and industry, to be provided by the EDA.

Parliaments should be involved in the early stages of the deepening of defence cooperation

About Clingendael

Clingendael is the Netherlands Institute of International Relations. We operate as a think-tank, as well as a diplomatic academy, and always maintain a strong international perspective. Our objective is to explore the continuously changing global environment in order to identify and analyse emerging political and social developments for the benefit of government and the general public.

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ANEXO IV

DEFENCE AGREEMENTS



Multi-year defence agreements reflect a broad consensus on defence across multiple stakeholders. This includes coalition and opposition parties and governments, as well as experts and interest groups. Defence agreements transcend a change of government after elections.



MULTI-YEAR DEFENCE AGREEMENTS

- Renewed every 5 years (unrelated to government cycle) or by majority-decision of parliament
- Extra-parliamentary political agreement
- Translated into defence budget
- Regular briefings and status meetings

DEFENCE COMMISSION REPORTS

- Follow major strategic change or major change in political landscape
- Drawn up by Defence Commission (consisting of parliamentarians, government officials, officers and external experts)
- Form input for defence agreements
- Large exercise, every 10 years



SWEDISH MODEL

SWEDISH DEFENCE COMMISSION

- Consists of parliamentarians and officials from various government offices
- Appointed every 4-5 years (usually after general elections) by the Ministry of Defence
- Assisted by Ministry of Defence secretariat

SECURITY POLICY REPORT

Analyses challenges and threats security environment

DEFENCE POLICY REPORT

Defines level of ambition based on the security policy report

MoD writes proposal for multi-year defence bill based on the security and defence policy reports



ADVANTAGES OF MULTI-YEAR DEFENCE AGREEMENTS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Increase political commitment▪ Strengthen parliamentary involvement (parliamentarians as <i>producers</i> rather than <i>consumers</i> of ideas on defence, policy and strategy)▪ Foster public support for defence▪ Provide stability and continuity in the defence organisation | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Provide more stable horizon on multi-year defence planning (and international alignment thereof)▪ Facilitate stability and predictability needed for successful international defence cooperation▪ Raise the threshold for turning back on international defence cooperation |
|--|--|

For more information on defence agreements, see: Margriet Drent and Minke Meijnders, "Multi-year Defence Agreements, A Model for Modern Defence?", *Clingendael Report*, September 2015.

Decision-making procedures for rapid response forces

Parliamentary involvement

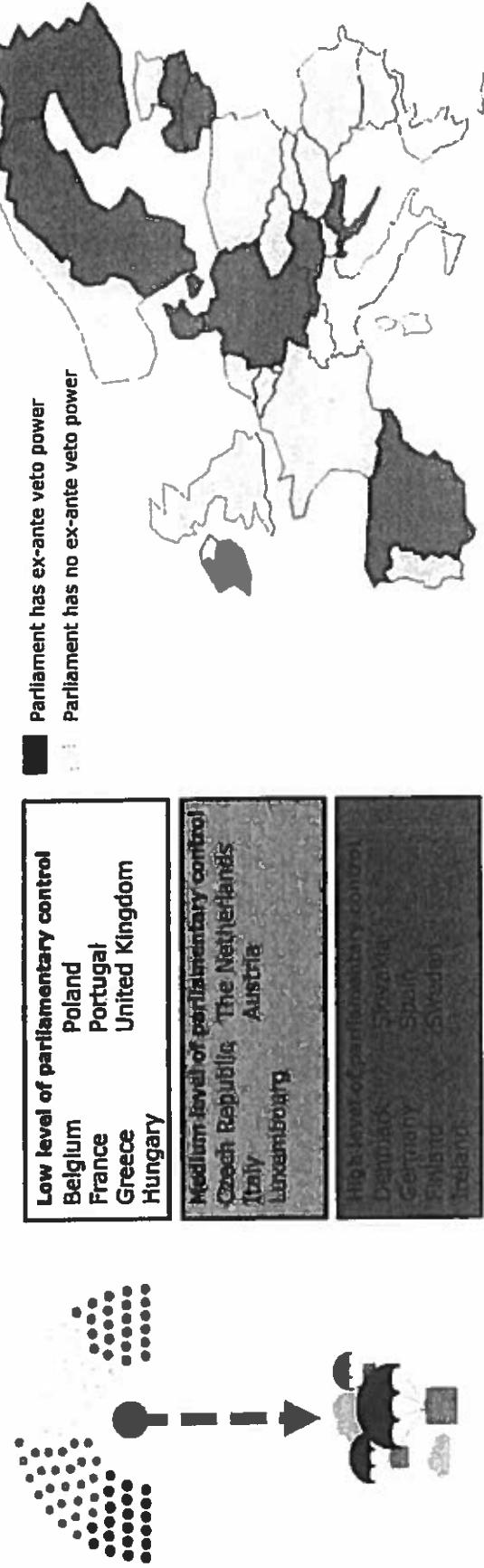
National parliaments:

- Have varying formal powers and degrees of involvement. Parliaments can influence the deployment of armed forces via the right to approve budgets, the right to information, and the right of co-decision (ex-ante or ex-post).

Supranational parliamentary structures:

- The **NATO Parliamentary Assembly** facilitates interparliamentary exchange; (sub)committees draw up recommendations and resolutions to Secretary General.
- The **European Parliament** publishes an annual report on the common defence policy; holds the right to information on financial implications of CFSF; The EP's budgetary rights are limited to civilian missions.
- The **Interparliamentary Conference (IPC)** on CSFP/CSDP facilitates interparliamentary exchange; includes MEPs and national MPs.

Parliamentary decision-making on troop deployment



Further reading: Margriet Drent, "Sovereignty, parliamentary involvement and European defence cooperation", Clingendael Report, March 2014.

Wolfgang Wagner, "Parliamentary control of CSDP: the case of the EU's fight against piracy off the Somali coast", Eur.Sec., 23:4, 2014.

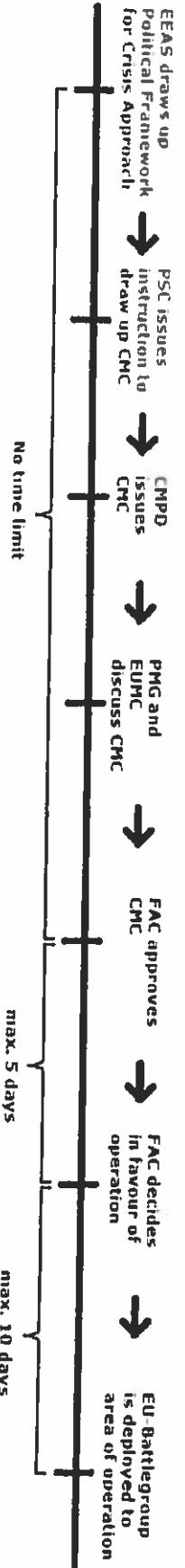
Christian Mölling and Alicia von Voss, "The Role of EU National Parliaments in Defence Affairs", SWP Working Paper, March 2015

Advisory Council on International Affairs "Deployment of Rapid-Reaction Forces", no. 96, October 2015.

Decision-making procedures for rapid response forces

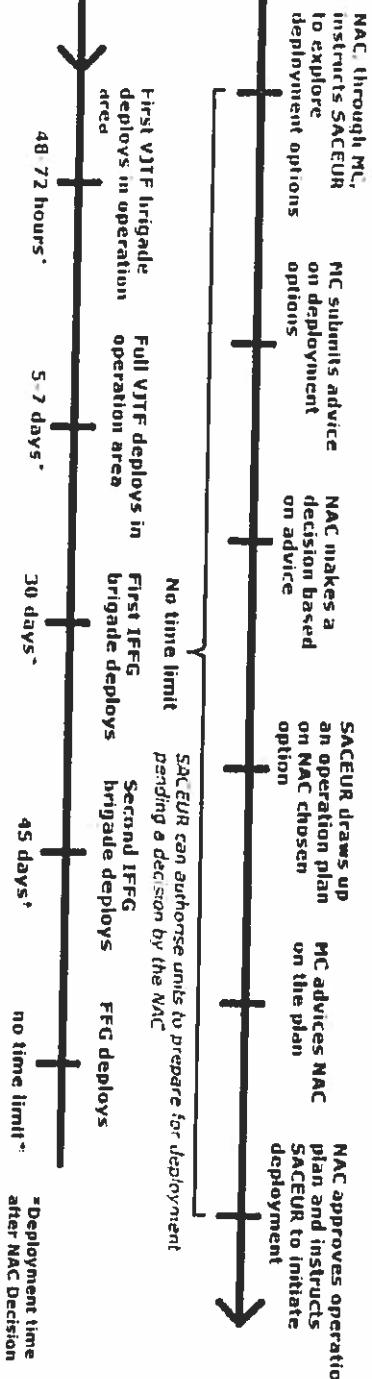
EU Battle Group (EUBG)

- 2 separately deployable taskforces, 1500-2000 personnel (army, navy, airforce and special forces elements)
- Framework nation or multinational coalition by MS decide Battlegroup package
- Deployment within 6000 km radius around Brussels for Petersberg Tasks (art. 43 TEU)
- Stand-by period: on rotation for 6 months
- Deployment within 10 days (see timeline below)



NATO Response Force (NRF)

- Three echelons (army, navy, airforce and special forces elements)
 - 1) Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF): brigade of 5000-7000 troops;
 - 2) Initial Follow on Forces Group (IFFG): two multinational brigades;
 - 3) Follow on Forces Group (FFG).
- Worldwide deployment for collective defence and crisis management tasks
- Stand-by period: on rotation for 12 months
- Deployment within 2 to 7 days (see timeline below)



The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

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Clingendael Report



Clingendael

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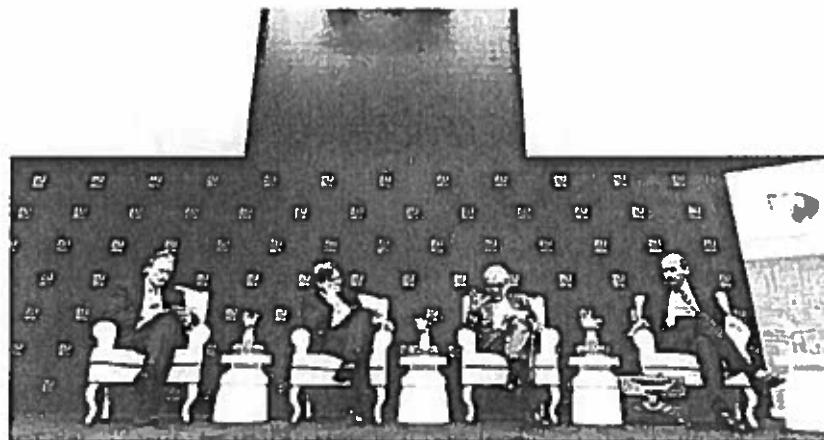
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The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation

Introduction



The role of parliaments is a neglected factor in the development of European defence cooperation. This is clearly in need of rectification as parliaments have a crucial role in making deeper defence cooperation a success. In most of the EU member states, the elected representatives decide about planning, procurement, the deployment of troops and the budget allocated to defence. The 2016 Netherlands EU Presidency therefore devoted a seminar to this issue, organised by the Ministry of Defence in cooperation with the Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' on 14-15 March in Amsterdam. High-level panels and a mixed audience of parliamentarians, national and European officials, members of think tanks, the military and academics discussed 'The Parliamentary Dimension of Defence Cooperation'.

This Clingendael Report addresses a number of issues discussed at the seminar. The first section reflects the crucial role that parliamentarians have in bringing politics back into the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). They are key to creating a political narrative on the importance of defence, defence cooperation and sovereignty understood as 'the ability to act'. The second section is devoted to the need to defend defence in parliament and towards the general public. Besides a small circle of dedicated parliamentarians, knowledge about and support for defence are not widespread in the European and national parliaments. The third section underlines

the need for more transparency from governments towards parliaments on defence cooperation. The Report's final section is devoted to the interparliamentary dimension that needs strengthening and looks into the workings of the Interparliamentary Conference and the parliamentary dimension of cluster cooperation.

This Clingendael Report highlights the main topics that were debated at the seminar, but does not attempt to reflect all points of the discussion. It is therefore neither a verbatim record nor a summary of the debate. Rather, it lists key issues which need to be addressed for parliaments to play a role in the deepening of defence cooperation. The Report concludes with a number of recommendations for the way forward. The Clingendael Institute bears sole responsibility for the contents of this report.

Bring politics back into CSDP

Despite its ambitious origins and despite the repeated underlining of the importance of the EU as a security provider, CSDP has in recent years lost its political appeal. CSDP has become an almost impenetrable and technical policy area that is discussed in increasingly smaller circles of 'insiders'. While de-politisation is a well-known phenomenon in the process of European integration, for CSDP to move forward it first needs to be brought back to the political arena. Security and defence are issues at the heart of the European integration process and a core responsibility of member states. Treating them only as a policy which needs technical tweaking will result in CSDP and defence cooperation further losing political guidance and momentum. First and foremost national parliamentarians, but also the members of the European Parliament, have to play a role in creating a trans-European politics of defence. The Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy and its implementation provide an ideal opportunity to put the EU's security and defence role high on the political agenda. Parliamentarians should clarify the strategy in public debates and defend the political choices that arise from it to their own electorate but also cross-border in other member states.

A political narrative

A trans-European politics of defence should breed a political narrative to communicate the importance of defence and European defence cooperation. It should also integrate defence with other areas such as maritime policy, border security, industry, research and technology and so forth. Such a narrative can be structured around three observations on European defence. First, while development, preventive engagement and diplomacy are at the forefront of the European approach to security, they must be backed up by credible military forces in order to be effective in a world where power politics and the use of force are a reality. This comprehensive approach combines internal and external civilian and military elements from across sectors, making defence not a separate policy silo but one of many policy areas that are highly intertwined.

Second, Europe is too dependent on the United States for its defence. The message from Washington is clear: Europe's free-riding party is over. Europe therefore requires a more credible and autonomous defence capacity, regardless of whether one is motivated by keeping the trans-Atlantic relationship alive or by having the ability to form policies independently of the United States.

Third, while there has been under-investment in defence in most European states, the major obstacle to a credible collective European defence output is the lack of cooperation. Europe's combined defence spending is considerable, but fragmented and nationally-oriented defence efforts have led to only a marginal collective capacity with shortfalls and little 'bang for the buck'. In fact, capabilities have fallen to critically low levels, putting into question Europe's ability to conduct the operations vital to its territorial and societal security. Opposing defence cooperation by arguing that it leads to a 'loss of sovereignty' is unhelpful: having full authority over national forces means little if they are too small to address the security challenges at hand.

In fact, being unable to act would constitute a much greater loss of sovereignty than having to consult with partner countries on planning and procurement or relying on some of their capabilities for deployments. How to structure European defence cooperation can be decided on a case-by-case basis – and there are a number of models and approaches to choose from – but in any case the three observations on European defence make clear that we need significant steps forward in defence cooperation.



Defend defence

There is a great need to engage the general public and members of parliament outside of the defence committees. Other members of parliament tend to have limited awareness of defence issues and little sympathy for defence. Defence has been isolated from other policy areas and is often the first to see its budgets cut, typically without adequate consideration of the implications for the capabilities and effectiveness of the armed forces. Convincing these MPs of the importance of defence, defence cooperation, and stable budgets is not easy, but needs to be done. One way to do this is to increase the interlinkage between various committees touching upon aspects of defence by holding joint meetings with committees on, for example, the economy, budgets, home affairs, transport or intelligence. This would expose other parliamentarians to defence issues and can generate broader support for policies.

A politics of defence should not be limited to the defence-minded

In the national context, such consensus can be further capitalised upon by setting up multi-year agreements on the purpose, policy direction and budgets for defence – as has already been done in Sweden and Denmark. These national agreements should be based on a broad consensus between stakeholders, encompassing coalition and opposition parties, governmental and non-governmental experts. Multi-year defence agreements are foremost tools to improve national defence policy, but the clarity and stability they provide also help governments to become more reliable partners for European defence cooperation.

While defence is the prerogative of the national parliaments, the European Parliament has a role to play in support of CSDP, stimulating defence research and innovation through the EU budget and through flanking EU policies. In the European parliament, the importance of defence as being broader than just a subsidiary to foreign affairs should be acknowledged by upgrading SEDE to a fully-fledged committee. This would increase SEDE's capacity to issue its own reports, arrange contacts with national parliaments, and engage with the plenary. However, the active role of the EP in supporting European cooperation should not be taken for granted; with the rise of EU-sceptic parties the EP may take on a more adverse stance. It is therefore crucial that these MEPs are engaged in debates on the need for CSDP and European defence cooperation. In addition, long-term support can be secured through the formation of a broad coalition-based agreement – across parliamentary groups – on the principal need for European defence cooperation.

Parliamentarians also need to defend defence towards the general public. Parliaments play an important role in interfacing between the necessities pointed out by policy experts and the general public. Although public polls generally show high support for the armed forces, championing defence and European defence cooperation does

not translate well into electoral votes. This problem is compounded by the rise of Euro-scepticism. Governmental and non-governmental experts can advocate European defence cooperation, but politicians need to explain its relevance to the general public. In some cases, it will require that politicians show statesmanship and defend decisions that are in the long-term interest of the nation despite being unpopular in the short term.

Increase knowledge within parliaments

Having a political narrative is not enough to create a viable politics of defence. Parliaments need a higher level of knowledge about defence in order to make, or call for, the right decisions for an effective defence capacity. Short-term decisions on defence budgets, procurement, and international cooperation in particular need to be based on an understanding of the long-term implications they have for the armed forces, the kind of operations they can perform and the threats they can address. Since European cooperation is needed to create an effective defence capacity, parliaments need to increase their knowledge in this area. This requires a more intimate knowledge of, for example, missions, procedures, programmes and benchmarks of the EU and NATO. As armed forces are increasingly being deployed in the context of multinational operations, it is also important that parliamentarians are more aware of the implications of national decision-making for these operations, especially when caveats are imposed. It is therefore important that members of parliament pay working visits to the EU institutions and national representations in Brussels, as well as to CSDP operations. The European Parliament, because of its more intimate knowledge of CSDP, should be actively sharing information and insights with national parliaments in a structural manner. Parliaments involved in clusters or bilateral defence cooperation should regularly meet up, organise joint working visits and engage in structural information-sharing. These activities are important to generate a better understanding of mutual dependencies, increase trust in the partnership, and lessen worries about assured access to shared capabilities. Inviting commanders from partner countries to give their views should also be considered.

Parliamentarians need to be more aware of the implications of national decision-making for operations

Increase transparency

Governments, as well as the European Commission, EEAS and other EU agencies, need to increase the level of information provided to parliaments and involve parliamentarians from the outset of new cooperation initiatives. Increased transparency and being

frank about the implications of defence cooperation are needed to build trust between governments and parliamentarians and to build a bridge to the general public. Following the proposal by the German Rühe Commission, governments should provide regular overviews of the implications of and the obligations that come with deeper defence cooperation. These reports and the parliamentary discussions that will be held on them will contribute to a heightened understanding of the commitments and mutual dependencies that follow from deeper defence cooperation. When involving parliamentarians more and at an earlier stage of defence cooperation it is important to guard the constitutional division of roles between the parliament and the government. At the end of the day, it is governments that have the authority and expertise to shape policies and operations.

To support the independent oversight function of parliaments, members of parliament need readily available, readable and politically salient information and analysis alongside what the government supplies. Parliaments should have access to either in-house research expertise on defence or be able to commission research externally. Many parliaments have some research service in place, but often lack the funds to commission the necessary research. Budgets should be allocated to support this vital function.



Annual progress meeting

Holding governments to account is one of the core tasks of parliamentarians. Consecutive European Councils that dealt with defence were not, or only partially, followed by other ministerial meetings holding member states responsible for living up to their promises. While more peer pressure from Ministers of Defence among themselves is to be welcomed, parliamentarians should step up the pressure on their governments for deeper defence cooperation. While a 'Eurozone-type' semester on defence would be the optimal option, a yearly 'Progress Meeting on Defence' could be a good Interim measure. At such a meeting, parliamentarians would be able to enter into a debate with both the High Representative Federica Mogherini and possibly the Defence Minister of the country holding the EU Presidency. They would discuss the progress, or the lack thereof, in achieving the promises that the ministers have made themselves at the various Council meetings. While the Defence Minister can of course not represent all 27 Ministers, he/she could report back to the next Defence Ministerial. Such a Progress Meeting would considerably up the political stakes for ministers and help in bringing politics back into CSDP. The Progress Meetings can be a useful tool to ensure political commitment to the Global Strategy. Parliamentarians should use these meetings to make sure that the strategy is implemented and translated into actionable proposals.

An improved Interparliamentary Conference on CFSP/CSDP

The format of the Interparliamentary Conference on CFSP/CSDP needs to evolve. The biannual meetings are useful as a regular meeting place for national and European parliamentarians from Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees. However, discussions at the IPC biannual meetings tend to be rather general in nature, also due to the large and formal setting. In the case of smaller and ad hoc work sessions, there is a lack of follow-up. Therefore, the IPC format needs more flexibility, more focus and more concrete deliverables. Various flexible formats are thinkable, such as joint national and European parliamentarians' working visits to CSDP operations. Ad hoc formats, such as, for example, task forces of parliamentarians from member states and the European Parliament in which they work together on specific issues and deliver reports with concrete proposals would also be advisable. Such smaller, focused settings would be able to tackle pressing issues and produce more concrete deliverables. Moreover, it enables the involvement of a wider and varied group of parliamentarians. This improved and more effective IPC also needs a stronger institutional set-up.

Functional and cluster interparliamentary cooperation

In a majority of the EU member states national parliamentarians have a key role in the deployment of troops. Working in multinational formations and contributing to rapid response mechanisms complicates decision-making, particularly when there is no time to lose. A very concrete measure is to not only engage in political exercises ahead of, for instance, an EU Battlegroup, where ministers are involved, but also to devise exercises in which parliamentarians get to practice their role. A case in point is the seven-nation EU Battlegroup that will be on call from July 2016. The seven parliaments should get in touch and organise such an exercise to be optimally prepared for possible deployment.

Deeper defence cooperation in small groups or clusters requires a parliamentary dimension. Modular operational cooperation or even integrated standing troop formations bring along mutual dependencies. The increasingly close cooperation between, for example, the Netherlands and Germany or between France and the United Kingdom are cases in point. These parliaments should share information on these dependencies in a systematic manner. They should consider joint defence committee sessions to bring the parliamentary dimension into line with the extent of their defence cooperation. We not only need interoperable armed forces in Europe, but also interoperable politicians.

The way forward

Distilled from the foregoing, we have identified a number of concrete and actionable recommendations. The first recommendation is an exception in that it is not 'concrete', but it is the prerequisite for the ones that follow.

- **Foster a trans-European politics of defence**
Parliamentarians are politicians, which makes it their job to create political narratives and to package the options and dilemmas of European defence in such a way that there is a buy-in from the public at large.
- **Organise an annual 'Defence Progress Meeting'**
An annual meeting where the promises of governments about strengthening defence cooperation are discussed with the High Representative and possibly the Defence Minister of the country holding the EU Presidency.
- **Provide regular overviews to parliaments on defence cooperation**
Governments should supply their parliaments with regular overviews of the implications of and the obligations that come with deeper defence cooperation.

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- **Create an independent parliamentary research capacity**

This is a condition for the independent oversight function of parliaments and for parliaments to be able to play their critical role in bringing European defence cooperation forward.

- **Organise a parliamentary exercise ahead of the EU Battlegroup for semester two of 2016**

In addition to military preparations, political readiness across the troop-contributing countries is important for EU Battlegroups to be deployed in time or even at all.

- **Build the parliamentary dimension of defence cooperation in clusters**

Organise regular joint defence committee meetings and start structural information-sharing with defence committees of partner countries.

- **Improve the IPC on CFSP/CSDP**

Allow various formats with changing compositions of parliamentarians; prioritise a number of issues that result in concrete deliverables and strengthen the IPC's institutional ability to facilitate this.