

5Th Congress on European Defence

Berlin, 23-24 October 2006

Title: What can the European Parliament do to make the ESDP more European?

INTRODUCTION

- I WILL FOCUS MY INTERVENTION ON THE EU'S CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE;
- I DON'T WANT TO DWELL ON THE TIRED OLD DEBATE ABOUT NATO VS EU; THEY ARE DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS WITH DIFFERENT ROLES AND VISIONS;
- WHERE THEIR ROLES OVERLAP, AS THEY DO IN THE BALKANS FOR EXAMPLE, PRAGMATISM SHOULD PREVAIL AND THE BERLIN PLUS ARRANGEMENT HAS MOSTLY BEEN A SUCCESS;
- AWAY FROM THE SPOTLIGHTS AND THE CONSTANT SEARCH FOR SPECTACULAR STORIES ABOUT A CLASH OF WILLS BETWEEN PARIS AND LONDON FOR SUPREMACY OF EITHER THE EU OR NATO IN SECURITY MATTERS, **THE REALITY**, THE EVERYDAY REALITY IS ONE OF INCREASING COORDINATION, FOR EXAMPLE IN IDENTIFYING AND ELIMINATING EUROPEAN CAPABILITY SHORTFALLS;
- SO: MY INTERVENTION WILL IGNORE THIS DEBATE AND TRY TO PRESENT A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT **PERSPECTIVE** OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY;

- WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THE SUPPORT AMONG EUROPEANS FOR A '*EUROPE OF DEFENCE*' IS SOLID - ACTUALLY, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE ARE THE AREAS WHERE THE EUROPEANS EXPECT MORE FROM THE EU; A QUICK LOOK AT THE MOST RECENT EUROBAROMETER NUMBERS (REFLECTING THE MOOD IN EUROPE IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2005) CONFIRMS THIS:
 1. 63% OF EUROPEANS BELIEVE EUROPE HAS A POSITIVE ROLE IN WORKING FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD;
 2. 77% OF EUROPEANS SUPPORT A EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY (WITH MANY OF THE TEN NEW MEMBER STATES AMONG THE MOST ARDENT SUPPORTERS OF ESDP AND THE SUPPOSEDLY EUROSCEPTIC UK EXPRESSING AN ASTONISHING 59% OF SUPPORT) ;
 3. WHEN ASKED WHO SHOULD TAKE DECISIONS CONCERNING EUROPEAN DEFENCE POLICY, 48% OF RESPONDENTS SAID 'THE EU' SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD; 23% EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR A LEADING ROLE BY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS; FINALLY, 18% VOTED FOR NATO;
 4. A SIMILAR PICTURE APPEARS WHEN EUROPEANS ARE ASKED ABOUT A EUROPEAN COMMON FOREIGN POLICY: 68% ARE IN FAVOR.
 5. IN COMPARISON, ONLY 46% OF EUROPEANS SAY THEY 'TEND TO TRUST' THE EU' GENERALLY, AND A MERE 60% SAY THEY SUPPORT THE SINGLE CURRENCY.

- IN THIS PROMISING CONTEXT, I BELIEVE THAT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN DEEPENING THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION OF THE

EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY - IT CAN DO SO IN THREE WAYS:

1. *FIRST*, IT CAN LEAD THE DEBATE FOR **MORE FUNDING FOR EUROPEAN MISSIONS**;
2. *SECOND*, IT CAN INTRODUCE **MORE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL** OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE SPENDING AT A EUROPEAN LEVEL, A FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT FOR THE POLITICAL LEGITMACY OF ESDP;
3. *THIRD*, IT CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN SELLING THE NEED FOR **A EUROPE OF DEFENCE TO EUROPE'S CITIZENS, SPECIALLY NOW THAT NEW THREATS ARE IDENTIFIED, WHICH ALSO REQUIRE A NEW PROFILE OF THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES, NAMELY FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM BY NON STATE ACTORS**

SO WHAT ARE THE OBSTACLES TO A MORE EUROPEAN ESDP?

1. FIRST, THE FUNDING:

- **THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT SPENDING ON CFSP - WHICH FINANCES SOME OF THE ESDP MISSION - WAS ONE OF THE BIG WINNERS** OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVES FOR 2007-2013: IT RECEIVED A MASSIVE INCREASE OF 245% TO AROUND €1.740 MILLION; FROM €62M IN 2005, THE CFSP BUDGET WILL RISE TO €102M THIS YEAR AND €159M NEXT YEAR;
- **THE BAD NEWS IS THAT THIS IS SMALL CHANGE TAKING INTO ACCOUNT WHAT THE NEEDS ARE:** THE CFSP BUDGET HAS TO FINANCE A WIDE RANGE

OF POLICIES, INCLUDING THE EU'S NONPROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES; **NOT MUCH IS LEFT FOR THE CIVILIAN ESDP MISSIONS THAT DEPEND ON THIS BUDGET LINE**; THE UPCOMING KOSOVO MISSION - WHICH IS GOING TO BE THE BIGGEST AND MOST COMPLEX CIVILIAN ESDP MISSION EVER - IS GOING TO BE MUCH MORE EXPENSIVE THAN EXPECTED: IT WILL PUT CONSIDERABLE AND LONG-TERM PRESSURE ON THE CFSP BUDGET; IF WE ADD TO THIS THE EVER-GROWING DEMAND FOR ESDP MISSIONS, IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT **THE BUDGET AS IT STANDS IS TOTALLY INSUFFICIENT**;

2. AS FOR THE POLITICAL DIMENSION AND THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRATIC SCRUTINY:

- WE, AS A PARLIAMENT, HAVE A POWER TO APPROVE THE YEARLY BUDGET FOR THE CFSP AND OVERSEE ITS SPENDING AND THUS HAVE AN INFLUENCE ON THE MONEY SPENT IN **CIVILIAN** ESDP MISSIONS, SUCH AS THE POLICE MISSIONS IN CONGO, BOSNIA AND PALESTINE;
- BUT - AND THIS IS THE CRUX OF THE DEBATE - **THE CFSP BUDGET IS ONLY ONE SOURCE OF FINANCING FOR ESDP MISSIONS AND IT CAN ONLY BE USED FOR THE CIVILIAN ONES**; THE MILITARY MISSIONS ARE FUNDED OUTSIDE THE EU GENERAL BUDGET IN AD-HOC FUNDS OR UNDER THE 'ATHENA MECHANISM' FOR COMMON COSTS; **IN OTHER WORDS, MUCH OF WHAT IS SPENT IN SECURITY AND DEFENSE BY THE EU IS OUTSIDE OF THE EP'S CONTROL - OR ANYONE ELSE'S, FOR THAT MATTER**;
- IN FACT, THERE IS A GREY AREA IN PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY OF ESDP, SINCE NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS MERELY FOCUS ON THE **NATIONAL** ASPECTS OF MISSIONS AND HOW THEY ARE FINANCED, AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN GIVEN THE POWER OF SCRUTINY AT A **EUROPEAN** LEVEL;

- IN WHAT THE FINANCING OF MILITARY MISSIONS IS CONCERNED, FOR EXAMPLE, NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS OFTEN LACK THE INTEREST, THE KNOWLEDGE AND THE TIME, TO UNDERSTAND THE EUROPEAN, OR EVEN GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MONEY THAT IS BEING SPENT ON EUROPEAN MISSIONS ABROAD - **THEY ARE TOO FOCUSED ON THE NATIONAL DEBATE;**

TO CONCLUDE MY REFLECTIONS ON FUNDING AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL:

A LACK OF MONEY FOR CFSP AND ESDP AND A LACK OF GENUINE DEMOCRATIC AND EUROPEAN SCRUTINY OF THOSE FUNDS ARE TWO MAJOR HURDLES IN THE DEEPENING OF EUROPE IN THE FIELDS OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE.

WE FEEL THIS GAP, THE COST OF 'NON-EUROPE', EVERY DAY - THE DEMAND FOR EUROPEAN MISSIONS (ESPECIALLY OF THE CIVILIAN KIND) IS GROWING EXPONENTIALLY, WHILE THE FUNDS AND THE INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE AT OUR DISPOSAL ARE WOEFULLY INADEQUATE!

3. NOW ON THE ISSUE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AS A COMMUNICATOR OF A EUROPE OF DEFENCE:

- AGAIN, ACCORDING TO EUROBAROMETER, 89% OF EUROPEANS KNOW THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT;
- AND MORE IMPORTANTLY: 51% OF EUROPEANS TRUST IT - WHICH MAKES IT BOTH THE MOST FAMOUS AND THE MOST TRUSTED EUROPEAN INSTITUTION;
- IN SHORT, QUITE APART FROM THE NEED TO UPHOLD THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC SCRUTINY OF PUBLIC SPENDING - IN THE DEFENCE FIELD OR OTHERWISE - **THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN RECONNECTING THE EUROPEANS WITH THE EU, BY RAISING THE PROFILE OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE ISSUES;

- **THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO THIS ROLE IS THE LACK OF INFORMATION AND CONSULTATION TAKING PLACE BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - WE MOSTLY ARE TOLD A POSTERIORI WHAT HAPPENED;**

BUT SOMETIMES THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IS AHEAD : FOR INSTANCE - SOME MONTHS AGO WE ORGANIZED A HEARING ON SPACE POLICY, ANTICIPATING THE MOVES LAST WEEK ANNOUNCED BY THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION ON A NEW USA SPACE POLICY, WHICH RISKS ENTAILING A NEW NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE. THE SILENCE OF THE EU COUNCIL AND COMMISSION IS DEAFENING. AND WORRYING IN VIEW OF THE TREMENDOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EU STRATEGIC AUTONOMY AND DEFENSE AND NOT JUST IN THE MILITARY FIELD, ALSO TO ALL CIVILIAN SPACE APPLICATIONS.

THERE IS NO WAY A COHERENT AND POWERFUL EUROPEAN MESSAGE CAN BE SENT ON ISSUES OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE, IF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL HOARDS THE INFORMATION AND DECIDES ON SUCH VITAL ISSUES IN ABSOLUTE SECRECY, AWAY FROM ITS CITIZENS.

SO, HOW SHALL WE OVERCOME THESE OBSTACLES?

1. ON FUNDING:

A. MR. SOLANA WAS HALF-RIGHT WHEN HE WROTE TO PRIME MINISTER BLAIR IN DECEMBER 2005, IN THE RUN UP TO THE HAMPTON COURT SUMMIT, SAYING THAT AN ANNUAL CFSP BUDGET OF €300M WOULD NOT BE UNREASONABLE; IN FACT, IF WE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE COMING CHALLENGES IN KOSOVO AND ELSEWHERE, €300M A YEAR WOULD BE THE BARE MINIMUM;

B. THE REEVALUATION OF THE EU'S GENERAL BUDGET, WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR 2009, WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR EUROPEAN LEADERS TO GIVE THE CFSP THE RESOURCES NEEDED, IF EUROPE WANTS TO PLAY THE ROLE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT THE WORLD IS INCREASINGLY EXPECTING AND IF EUROPE WANTS TO MEET CURRENT THREATS TO ITS DEFENSE AND TO THE GLOBAL SECURITY; NAMELY THE TERRORISM BY NON STATE ACTORS

2. ON DEMOCRATIC CONTROL:

A. THE MAIN PRIORITY IS TO REALLY START SCRUTINIZING THE FAMOUS 'ATHENA MECHANISM', WHICH ORGANISES THE COLLECTION AND SPENDING OF THE COMMON COSTS FOR MILITARY ESDP MISSIONS; WHO CONTRIBUTES HOW MUCH? HOW MUCH IS SPENT? HOW EFFICIENTLY IS IT SPENT? AND ON WHAT? AS IT STANDS, NO ONE OUTSIDE THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL KNOWS WHAT IS GOING ON; THE COMMON COSTS ARE CALCULATED BY THE COUNCIL SECRETARIAT AND THE MISSION'S OPERATIONAL COMMANDERS - ALL OF THEM EU OFFICIALS: THEREFORE THE PARLIAMENT HAS A LEGAL RIGHT TO KNOW MORE;

B. THE COUNCIL HAS RECENTLY AGREED TO CONSULT THE PARLIAMENT ONCE A YEAR ON A FORWARD-LOOKING COUNCIL DOCUMENT SETTING OUT THE MAIN ASPECTS AND BASIC CHOICES OF THE CFSP AND ITS FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS - **THE COUNCIL NEEDS TO TAKE THE PARLIAMENT'S VIEWS ON BOARD IN THAT DOCUMENT, IF IT WANTS THE EU TO HAVE ONE COHERENT MESSAGE ON CFSP AND ESDP;**

C. FINALLY, THE ALREADY EXISTING INFORMATION-EXCHANGE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN COUNCIL AND PARLIAMENT HAVE TO BE UPGRADED AND **THE EP NEEDS TO BE PUT AT THE CENTER OF ANY DEBATE IN BRUSSELS BEFORE AND LEADING UP TO A MISSION.**

3. COMMUNICATING ESDP

A. A STRONGER ROLE FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN ISSUES RELATED TO ESDP AND CFSP WOULD **STRENGTHEN THE EUROPEAN (AND, OF COURSE, DEMOCRATIC) LEGITIMACY OF THESE POLICIES;**

B. THE EP COULD BE DECISIVE IN RAISING **AWARENESS AMONG CITIZENS IN EUROPE ABOUT THE TREMENDOUS RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF ESDP;**

C. IN AN AREA WHERE MUCH IS EXPECTED FROM EUROPE (AS THE EUROBAROMETER DATA CONFIRM), **MEMBER STATES ARE UNABLE TO ARTICULATE A EUROPEAN VISION OF ESDP FOR THEIR DOMESTIC AUDIENCES; THEY ARE TRAPPED IN NATIONAL DEBATES - THE EP IS MUCH BETTER AT COMMUNICATING 'EUROPE'.**

LET ME FINISH WITH A GOOD EXAMPLE OF HOW ALL OF THESE ASPECTS ARE RELATED: THE EUROPEAN MILITARY MISSION IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.

1. FROM THE BEGINNING, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WAS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING A MISSION;
 2. HOWEVER, AS USUAL, THE DEBATE LEADING UP TO THE DECISION TO GO WAS EITHER OPAQUE OR PURELY NATIONAL;
 3. HAD THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BEEN INVOLVED FROM THE BEGINNING, GIVEN SOME OVERSIGHT OF THE SPENDING, OR EVEN CONSULTED ON THE MISSION'S PARAMETERS, IT COULD HAVE LAUNCHED A ROBUST AND WELL-INFORMED MEDIA CAMPAIGN IN FAVOR OF THE MISSION IN GERMANY AND ELSEWHERE;
 4. THE LACK OF OWNERSHIP OF ESDP BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS FOR THE LACK OF OWNERSHIP OF ESDP BY EUROPEANS AND THE IGNORANCE ABOUT MAJOR EUROPEAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN CONGO, ACEH AND THE BALKANS, TO NAME JUST A FEW EXAMPLES - IN THE CASE OF CONGO, HAD THE GERMANS BEEN CONFRONTED WITH A TRULY EUROPEAN CASE IN FAVOR OF THE MISSION, I AM ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH LESS RELUCTANT TO ASSUME THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES – WHICH THEY FINALLY DID; WITH MUCH SUCCESS TILL THIS DAY:.
- IN CONCLUSION, MUCH CAN BE DONE EVEN WITHIN THE EXISTING TREATIES, THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL BALANCE; FOR THE ESDP TO BECOME MORE THAN JUST THE SUM OF ITS

**INTERGOVERNMENTAL PARTS, FOR THE ESDP TO
BECOME TRULY EUROPEAN, THE EP NEEDS TO BE
TAKEN ON BOARD.**