



Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698

**RECON**  
**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe**

Integrated Project  
Priority: 7 - Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society

**Deliverable No. 17**  
**Workshop: Parliamentary Control in Foreign and Security Policy**

Due date of deliverable: December 2007  
Actual delivery date: 7-8 December 2007

Start date of project: 1 January 2007

Duration: 60 months

Lead contractor for this deliverable:  
Partner 18 PRIF  
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Germany

Final Version

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)		
Dissemination Level		
<b>PU</b>	Public	
<b>PP</b>	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
<b>RE</b>	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	X
<b>CO</b>	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

## 1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 17 – *Workshop: Parliamentary Control in Foreign and Security Policy* is part of work package 6 – The Foreign and Security Dimension. WP 6 assesses the status as well as the prospect of democracy within the field of foreign and security policy in Europe. To what extent and in what ways is the realm of foreign and security policy democratised? And is the state form, the organised capacity to act, required for democratic government? Foreign and security policy is in many ways at the water's edge of democratic governance. It is within this issue area that the incidence of executive dominance is the most pronounced, at both the EU and the national level. Foreign and security policy is the hard case for those expecting that the EU has progressed beyond an international organisation as well as for those expecting a development of European democracy towards the third model of RECON.

During the first 18 months, the focus in WP 6 is on clarifying conceptual, theoretical and methodological issues and as well as on preparatory work allowing for the assessment of the empirical salience of the three ideal-typical models of RECON in the field of foreign and security policy in Europe. In addition to the conceptual ground-clearing, an important task is to establish a first sense of the degree to which it is possible to document a move 'beyond' the first model of RECON in this policy field. The mechanisms of parliamentary control of foreign and security policy of the EU at the national, supranational and transnational levels are mapped. A workshop focusing on these three levels of parliamentary control was therefore organised in the first year of the project.

## 2. Presentation of the workshop

The workshop took place on 7 and 8 December 2007 in Frankfurt/Main. It brought together 23 participants from 14 institutions in 8 countries. 13 of these participants came from RECON partner institutions. The workshop was organized by Wolfgang Wagner, co-leader of RECON WP 6, Nicole Deitelhoff and Dirk Peters, all members of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, with the assistance of Linda Wallbott from the University of Darmstadt.



*PRIF executive director H. Müller, co-leader of WP 6 H. Sjursen, co-organizers W. Wagner and D. Peters.*

Overall the workshop aimed at investigating the current state of parliamentary control of European security policy at all levels and at establishing how the different levels of parliamentary control relate to the three ideal-type RECON models.

Therefore the workshop dealt, first, on an abstract level with how parliamentary control of security policy may contribute to democracy in Europe; and then examined in detail the processes and problems of parliamentary control of European security policy at the national, supranational and transnational levels, respectively.

The workshop began with an introductory presentation by Helene Sjursen, co-leader of WP 6, who introduced on a general level the three RECON models and their relation to the issue area of foreign and security policy. The workshop organizers followed up with a paper providing an overall framework for the workshop papers and discussions. In their presentation they outlined how the three RECON models may relate to the three levels of parliamentary control (national, supranational, transnational), identified potential problems for the democratic control of security policy through parliaments and pointed to focus areas for research.



*M. Riddervold, A. E. Stie, W. Wagner and M. Hilger*

The second day of the workshop was opened by Christopher Lord, leader of RECON WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up, who contributed a paper examining from the viewpoint of political theory why parliaments should be involved in the control of security policy at all. The remainder of the workshop was devoted to mapping the concrete procedures and problems of parliamentary control on the different levels. The national level was examined by Teodora Fuior and Hartwig Hummel. Both presented preliminary results of current research projects dealing with aspects of national parliamentary control of European security policy. Teodora Fuior outlined the results of a comparative study which had been carried out by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). This study had investigated in detail how EU member states' parliaments are involved in decisions about the deployment of national forces for ESDP operations. Hartwig Hummel presented results of the *paks* project, hosted at the University of Düsseldorf, which compared the role of national parliaments in EU member states' decisions about participation in the Iraq War. The supranational level was covered by Anna Herranz Surrallés. She presented a paper, co-authored with Esther Barbé, that analyzes the role of the European Parliament in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. Finally, the transnational level was examined in papers presented by Stefan Marschall, who discussed the role of transnational parliamentary assemblies in security policy in general; and by Michael Hilger, who focused on the work of the WEU Assembly.

Each presentation was followed by a brief commentary provided by one or two discussants. The resulting discussions were lively and came up with many suggestions for the refinement of the papers and for clarifying our understanding of how parliamentary control of European security policy may contribute to the strengthening of democracy in Europe. The workshop profited much from a balanced mix of participants directly involved in RECON, on the one hand, and participants who contributed an outside view, on the other. The discussions are likely to feed back not only into the work done in WP 6, but also in WPs 1 and 3, which were also represented at the workshop.

Moreover, to achieve wider dissemination of the results the papers will be revised against the backdrop of workshop discussions and then published as a RECON Report in 2008.



*C. Lord, C. Bickerton and co-organizer N. Deitelhoff*

### 3. Participants

Christopher Bickerton	University of Oxford
Giovanna Bono	European Parliament, Brussels
Michael Clarke	University of Bath
Nicole Deitelhoff	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Teodora Fuior	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
Hannes Hansen-Magnusson	University of Bath
Michael Hilger	Assembly of Western European Union, Paris
Hartwig Hummel	Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf
Philip Liste	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Christopher Lord	University of Reading
Stefan Marschall	Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf
Harald Müller	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Dirk Peters	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Kolja Raube	University of Hamburg
Marianne Riddervold	ARENA, University of Oslo
Guri Rosén	ARENA, University of Oslo
Gabriele Schlag	Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main

Andreas Schmidt  
Helene Sjursen  
Anna Herranz Surrallés  
Anne Elisabeth Stie  
Wolfgang Wagner

Linda Wallbott

Peace Research Institute Frankfurt  
ARENA, University of Oslo  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
ARENA, University of Oslo  
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/Peace Research Institute  
Frankfurt  
University of Darmstadt

#### **4. Programme**

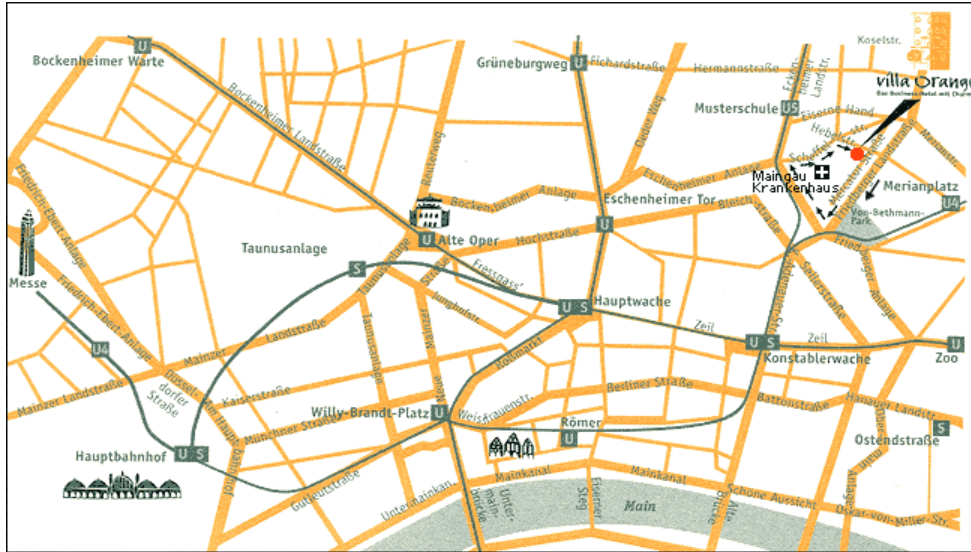
See attachment.

## Location Plan

Hotel Villa Orange  
Hebelstraße 1  
60318 Frankfurt/Main

Fon 0049-69/40584-0  
Fax 0049-69/40584-100

[www.villa-orange.de](http://www.villa-orange.de)  
[contact@villa-orange.de](mailto:contact@villa-orange.de)



### By car

Take the A5 towards Frankfurt. At the 'Nordwestkreuz' take the A66 towards Frankfurt/Miquelallee, that goes directly to the city center. At the 4<sup>th</sup> big junction you will see a Chinese restaurant – turn right into Friedberger Landstraße. After appr. 2 km turn right and right again and follow the sign 'Maingau-Krankenhaus'. Having passed the hospital's entrance turn right again into Hebelstraße. The Villa Orange is on your right.

### By train

At Frankfurt/Main Central take the subway U5 to 'Preungesheim'. Get off at 'Musterschule' (4<sup>th</sup> stop) and walk back approx. 15m opposite direction of train. Then turn left into Hebelstraße. After 3 minutes of walking you will see the Villa Orange on your right hand side. If you have lots of luggage take any subway to 'Konstablerwache' and take a cab (all in all it will take about 15 minutes).

### By plane

At the airport follow the signs 'Regionalbahnhof'. Take the S8 or S9 to 'Hanau' and get off at 'Konstablerwache'. Change to U5 towards 'Preungesheim', then follow the instructions above (all in all it will take about 30 minutes).



## PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY

International Workshop

Organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

7 - 8 December 2007

Conference Program

### FRIDAY, 7 DECEMBER 2007

16:00 – 16:30

**Welcome**

**Wolfgang Wagner**

*Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*

**Angela Liberatore**

*European Commission, Brussels*

16:30 – 17:00

**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe: Foreign and Security Policy**

**Helene Sjørnsen**

*ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo*

17:00 – 18:15

**Supranational and Transnational Parliamentary Control of Foreign and Security Policy: A Framework for Analysis**

**Wolfgang Wagner/Nicole Deitelhoff/Dirk Peters**

*Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*

*Discussant: Marianne Riddervold, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo*

19:30

**Dinner** Restaurant 'Knossos'



---

## SATURDAY, 8 DECEMBER 2007

---

09:00 – 10:15	<b>Parliaments, Representation and EU Security Policy</b> <b>Christopher Lord</b> <i>University of Reading</i> <i>Discussant: Christopher Bickerton, University of Oxford</i>
10:15 – 11:30	<b>National Parliaments and European Security Policy</b> <b>Hans Born</b> <i>Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)</i> <i>Discussant: Hartwig Hummel, Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf</i>
11:30 – 11:45	<b>Coffee Break</b>
11:45 – 13:00	<b>The European Parliament and European Security Policy</b> <b>Esther Barbé/Anna Herranz</b> <i>Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona</i> <i>Discussant: Matthias Dembinski, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</i>
13:00 – 14:30	<b>Lunch Break</b>
14:30 – 15:45	<b>Transnational Parliamentary Assemblies and European Security Policy</b> <b>Stefan Marschall</b> <i>Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf</i> <i>Discussant: Kolja Raube, Universität Hamburg</i>
15:45 – 17:00	<b>The WEU Assembly and European Security Policy</b> <b>Michael Hilger</b> <i>Assembly of Western European Union, Paris</i> <i>Discussant: Sandra Dieterich, Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf</i>
17:00 – 17:15	<b>Coffee Break</b>

---



17:15 – 18:30	<b>Interparliamentary Cooperation and European Security Policy</b> <b>Andreas Maurer</b> <i>SWP, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin</i> <i>Discussant: Anne Elizabeth Stie, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo</i>
18:30 – 18:45	<b>Concluding Remarks</b> <b>Wolfgang Wagner</b> <i>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</i>
19:30	<b>Dinner</b> Restaurant 'Nizza am Main'

---

## End of the conference

---

This workshop is part of the integrated project “RECON - Reconstituting Democracy in Europe”, which is supported by the European Commission’s Sixth Framework Programme for Research, Priority 7: ‘Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society’.

For more information on RECON see <http://www.reconproject.eu>.

For more information on the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt see <http://www.hsfk.de>.

## Organization of the conference

Wolfgang Wagner (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/ Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)

Nicole Deitelhoff (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)

Dirk Peters (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt)

Linda Wallbott (Technische Universität Darmstadt)

