



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. 86
Workshop: Reassessing democracy in European foreign policy

Due date of deliverable: June 2011
Actual delivery date: 15–16 September 2011

Start date of project: 1 January 2007

Duration: 60 months

Lead contractor for this deliverable:
Partner 1 ARENA – Centre for European Studies
University of Oslo, Norway

Draft Version

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

1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 86 – *Workshop: Reassessing democracy in European foreign policy* – is part of work package 6, which focuses on the foreign and security policy dimensions of the European Union. It seeks to assess the status and the prospect for democracy within the field of foreign and security policy in relation to the three RECON models. The WP uncovers at what level – national, transnational or supranational – mechanisms for democratic control are developed. It also clarifies the principles that the EU binds itself to in its foreign and security policy, as well as the kinds of standards and policy instruments that the EU has established in order to ensure domestic-external consistency.

In the final project period, WP 6 would focus on assessing, analysing and disseminating empirical findings, while to some extent continuing to collect data. The WP 6 participants will intensify the comparison of findings across partner institutions and synthesize findings. The ultimate aim remains that of assessing the relevance of, alternatively, the first, second or third of the RECON models. Consequently, empirical data will be assessed with an eye to answer the following two questions: To what extent has a move beyond intergovernmentalism taken place? What kinds of competences and powers (if any) have been uploaded to the EU level? The WP will also begin to discuss the question of: ‘If a – putative – move beyond intergovernmentalism should be democratic – which of the RECON models of democracy would be required?’ in more depth.

2. Presentation of the workshop

WP 6 leaders Helene Sjursen (ARENA, University of Oslo) and Wolfgang Wagner (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) organized the workshop ‘Democratizing the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy’ at the Holmenkollen Park Hotel Rica in Oslo on 15–16 September 2011. As the final WP 6 workshop it was set up to discuss the final results of the research done by the WP 6 researchers as well as their implications for the guiding questions of the work package. The workshop gathered 14 participants and included ten papers.

The two chairs opened the discussion with re-introducing the two main questions: First, to what extent has the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy moved beyond intergovernmentalism? And second, what kind of democracy would be required? Furthermore, they expressed their satisfaction with the fact that the researchers of the various partner institutions managed to finalize the gathering of empirical data and to advance their interpretation in the light of the three democracy models of the RECON project. The conveners had also invited external contributors Matthias Dembinski (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) and Kolja Raube (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, formerly ARENA) to present papers on topics that are relevant to these themes but not covered by the WP partners.

Federica Bicchì (London School of Economics and Political Science) presented her analysis of the telex network COREU (‘Correspondence Européenne’) via which EU diplomats exchange views on current events and work towards common positions. Although ‘red lines’ continue to exist and delimit a strictly intergovernmental arena, Bicchì finds that much of the daily practice occurs outside ‘red lines’. The COREU communication practice contributes to make ‘purely national’ foreign policies further unthinkable by tightening relations between officials belonging to different countries and by nurturing a joint cognitive and social system for policy making.

Dirk Peters and Wolfgang Wagner (co-author Cosima Glahn) (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) examined a key dimension of democratic control, namely parliamentary control of military missions. They presented the findings of an in-depth case study on the EU's maritime mission ATALANTA that was launched to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia. This study shows that parliaments are indeed actively involved in the democratic control of EU military operations. However, it also shows that parliamentary involvement, regardless of its level, only kicks in after key executive decisions have been made. Further, rules and practice of parliamentary involvement at the national level are not uniform. While many parliaments possess the authority to scrutinize government actions, others do not engage in controlling EU military operations either because they are not authorized to do so or because MPs are occupied with other issues. The study shows that the complementary nature of the relation between the European and the national level, envisaged by the audit democracy model, is not easy to achieve.

Kolja Raube presented a paper on 'Executive integration in EU diplomacy: CFSP beyond intergovernmentalism?' He argued that the changes in the diplomatic system, which the Lisbon Treaty brings about, point in the direction of a more closely integrated executive in CFSP. Raube emphasized that elements of intergovernmentalism are here to stay, but that developments point in the direction of newly created executives on different levels of executive integration – in the EU and beyond. The executive integration takes place beyond pure intergovernmental diplomacy, but not without governments and national administrations.

In his paper on public opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy, Dirk Peters finds that general support for a common foreign policy is high. The desirability of a common defence policy, however, is much more contested among EU member states. European citizens do not give particular preference to the defence of international law and human rights as tasks for the armed forces. Traditional security concerns such as territorial defence still figure prominently. However, European forces geared primarily at enforcing international law and contributing to UN missions stand a much greater chance of being accepted in all member states, even those in which the idea of a common European defence policy receives only little support.

The second day of the workshop started with Helene Sjursen's paper which focused on the question of what the EU would need to look like in order to be democratic. This exercise is intended to move the debate beyond the diffuse claim that there is something 'more' to CFSP than intergovernmentalism. To Sjursen, the third RECON model of a regional cosmopolitan polity, that is, a polity that is not a state and that instead rests on an agenda of state transformation proves useful, and captures some key features of the CFSP as a policy field where the executive emerges from the nation states but is no longer entirely within their reach. With a view to the democraticness of CFSP, Sjursen concludes that merely strengthening the powers of the EP would not be enough, but could be done by reorganising the representative dimension and clarifying lines of authority and power between the different levels and layers of decision-making.

Guri Rosén (ARENA) presented a paper on how the European Parliament got access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defence. Her analysis shows that both normative learning and bargaining contributed to the establishment of the Interinstitutional Agreement on access to sensitive documents.

Cathleen Kantner (Stuttgart University, formerly Freie Universität Berlin) linked the findings of an extensive quantitative content analysis of quality newspapers in seven EU member states and the USA to the three RECON democracy models. Based on an analysis of the public debate on military interventions, Kantner finds that it mirrors the idea that the problem-pressure of international crises are too strong for EU member state to tackle them alone, so that these issues have to be handled in cooperation. Kantner's analysis also demonstrates that transnational, transatlantic and European debates on humanitarian military interventions occur in the national media. However, such a transnational European public is marked by conflict, dissent and verbal battles – as any pluralistic public sphere.

Marianne Riddervold (ARENA) presented a paper in which she aims at making deliberative theory more applicable to research on EU integration by establishing alternative and more concise micro-mechanisms like those in rationalist bargaining theories. She suggests that the micro-mechanism through which deliberation has an effect on outcomes is what is termed argument-based learning. Riddervold applied the framework to a case where one would not expect agreements on common EU policies to have been reached due to argument-based learning, namely EU coordination towards the Maritime Labour Convention, thus accounting for agreements that are puzzling from a rationalist perspective.

Matthias Dembinski (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt) presented a paper co-authored with Jutta Joachim (University of Hannover) on civil society organizations (CSOs) as a means to democratize the CFSDP. Their analysis suggests that such organizations and their transnational networks do indeed contribute to the democratic quality of an intergovernmental model of European foreign policy. CSOs correct for the democratic deficits associated with intergovernmental decision-making. They contribute to the implementation of decisions, and ensure that different viewpoints and alternative solutions are considered by providing well-researched information and expertise. They also enhance the transparency of decision-making processes.

3. List of participants

Federica Bicchi	<i>London School of Economics and Political Science</i>
Matthias Dembinski	<i>Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</i>
Johanne Døhlle Saltnes	<i>Institute for Advanced Studies, Wien</i>
Cathleen Kantner	<i>University of Stuttgart</i>
Espen D.H. Olsen	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Dirk Peters	<i>Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</i>
Kolja Raube	<i>Katholieke Universiteit Leuven</i>
Marianne Riddervold	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Pernille Rieker	<i>Norwegian Institute for International Affairs</i>
Guri Rosén	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Helene Sjursen	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Anne Elizabeth Stie	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Johanna Strikwerda	<i>ARENA, University of Oslo</i>
Wolfgang Wagner	<i>Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</i>

4. Programme

See attachment.

Democratizing the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy

RECON Workshop
WP 6 – The Foreign and Security Dimension

Oslo, 15-16 September 2011

Venue: Holmenkollen Park Hotel Rica, Kongeveien 26

Programme

Thursday 15 September 2011

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|-------------|--|
| 13.00-13.45 | Welcome and introduction
Helene Sjursen , ARENA, University of Oslo
Wolfgang Wagner , Peace Research Institute Frankfurt |
| 13.45-14.45 | The EU as a community of practice: Foreign policy communications in the COREU network
Federica Bicchì , London School of Economics and Political Science
<i>Discussant: Guri Rosén</i> |
| 14.45-15.10 | <i>Coffee Break</i> |
| 15.10-16.10 | The institutional backbone of democratic control: Parliaments in European Security Politics
Dirk Peters and Wolfgang Wagner , Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
(Co-author Cosima Glahn)
<i>Discussant: Espen D. H. Olsen, ARENA, University of Oslo</i> |
| 16.10-17.10 | Executive integration in EU diplomacy: CFSP beyond intergovernmentalism?
Kolja Raube , Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
<i>Discussant: Dirk Peters</i> |
| 17.10-17.25 | <i>Coffee Break</i> |
| 17.25-18.25 | Civil Society and the European Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy
Matthias Dembinski , Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
(Co-author Jutta Joachim)
<i>Discussant: Anne Elizabeth Stie, ARENA, University of Oslo</i> |
| 18:30 | <i>Dinner at 'De Fem Stuer', Holmenkollen Park Hotel Rica</i> |

Friday 16 September 2011

- 09.00-09.45 **Meetings**
- 09.45-10.45 **Beyond democracy? Integration in the CFSP**
Helene Sjursen, ARENA, University of Oslo
Discussant: Mathias Dembinski
- 10.45-11.00 *Coffee Break*
- 11.00-12.00 **Can you keep a secret? How the European Parliament got access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defence**
Guri Rosén, ARENA, University of Oslo
Discussant: Wolfgang Wagner
- 12.00-13.00 **Debating humanitarian military interventions in the European Public Sphere (1990-2005/2006)**
Cathleen Kantner, University of Stuttgart
Discussant: Espen D. H. Olsen
- 13.00-14.00 *Lunch at 'Galleriet'*
- 14.15-15.15 **From reason-giving to collective action: Argument-based learning and European integration**
Marianne Riddervold, ARENA, University of Oslo
Discussant: Cathleen Kantner
- 15.15-15.35 *Coffee Break*
- 15.35-16.35 **European security governance for the people? Public opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy**
Dirk Peters, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
Discussant: Federica Bicchi / Helene Sjursen
- 16.35-17.20 **Conclusions and follow-up**
Helene Sjursen, ARENA, University of Oslo
Wolfgang Wagner, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
- 19:30 *Dinner at 'Brasserie Mares', Oslo*

Please meet in the reception in time for departure by taxi at 19:00.